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Mississippi Quarterly

SPRING 1961
VOLUME XIV NUMBER 2

The Mississippi Quarterly

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY

Liberal Arts Division
School Of Arts And Sciences

MISSISSIPPI STATE UNIVERSITY
STATE COLLEGE, MISSISSIPPI

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Subscription is \$2.00 a year. Additional press runs of articles are available at cost. Business correspondence should be addressed to the Business Manager, Box 23, State College, Mississippi.

*Accepted as a controlled circulation publication at
State College, Mississippi.*

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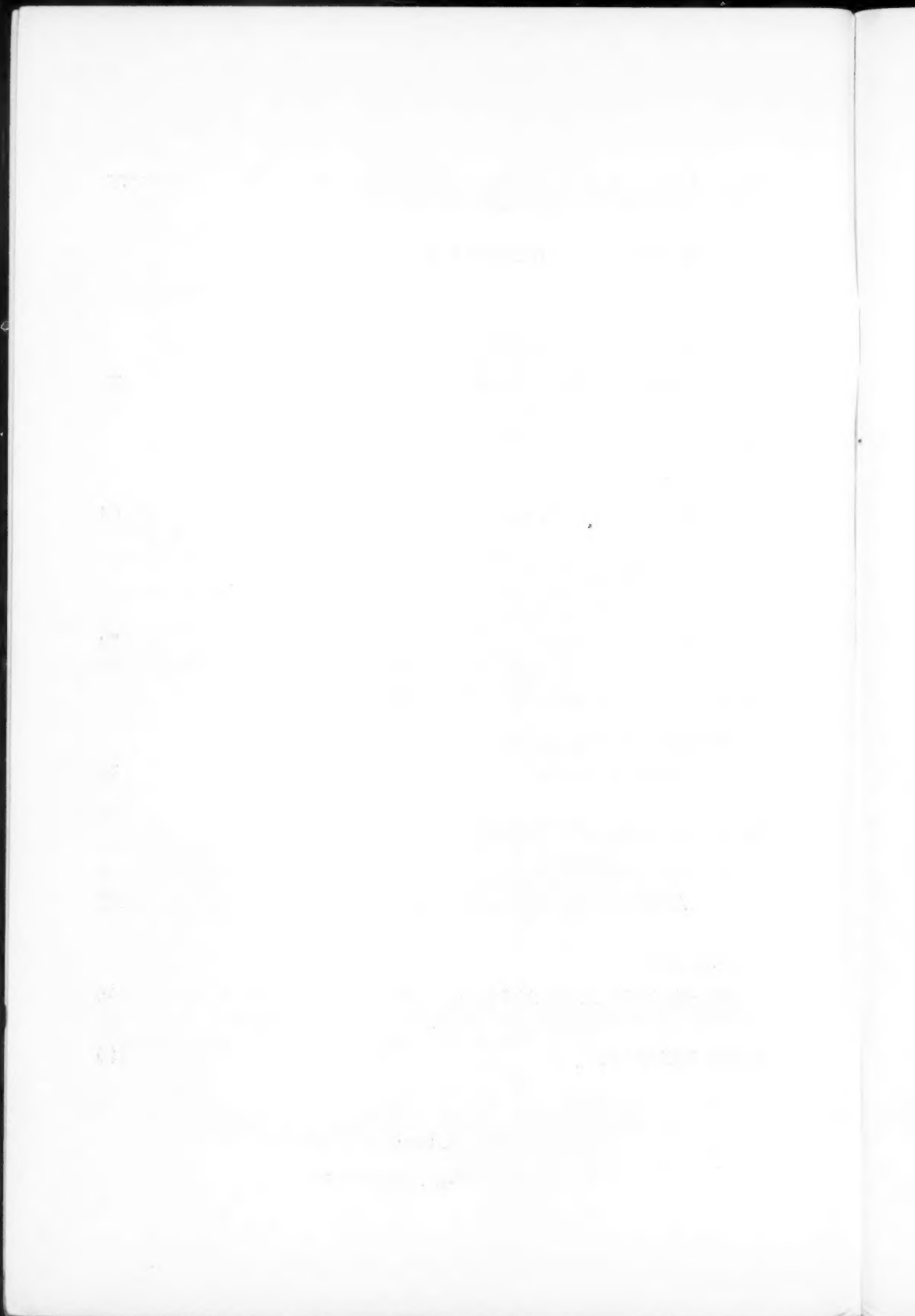
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BERNARD R. BREYER

Auburn University

A Diagnosis of Violence In Recent Southern Fiction

Though reluctant to draw more attention than absolutely necessary to the somewhat pretentious and misleading title, I feel obliged to justify one of its terms at some length. *Violence* has been substituted for *crime* deliberately and with, I hope, good reason. Several good reasons, in fact. First, violence seems the more objective, less prejudicial term: A man shoots or stabs another to death. He is guilty of violence. Whether he is guilty of crime or not depends on many things — the posture of his victim, the time, the place, the clothes he was wearing, the skill of his attorney, and so on. . . . Second, *crime* includes a multitude of illegalities of very dubious moral significance. The law itself makes a distinction between the *malum per se* and the *malum prohibitum*; that is, between the action criminal or wrong in itself and the action criminal only because there happens to be a law against it. For instance, there is nothing intrinsically wicked about quietly bringing French perfume into this country, or keeping gold coins in an old sock under the mattress, or even distilling cereals in the bathroom. These pursuits of happiness do not arouse our moral indignation — at least, not mine. They are crimes simply because it has suited the convenience of some government to declare them so. And that, I think, explains why a good many people — a majority perhaps — often find themselves sympathizing with the smuggler, the hoarder, and the bootlegger as against the policeman or the treasury agent. And it explains, too, in large part, my most important reason for preferring the word *violence* to *crime*: namely, that the serious artist — novelist, dramatist, poet — is simply not interested in crime as such.*

*It may be unnecessary to mention that *crime* is used here as it would be understood by sociologists — i.e., in its external and legalistic rather than its broadly moral sense.

This assertion may seem paradoxical, if not preposterous, in view of the long procession of literary criminals, from Clytemnestra, Orestes, and Medea through Macbeth and Iago down to Raskolnikov, Fagin, and our own Joe Christmas; but I hope to show that it is nonetheless true, and that it involves more than a semantic quibble. Indeed I would go a step further: It is not only the serious artist — the Sophocles or Shakespeare or Dostoevski — whom I will affirm to be essentially unconcerned with crime, but the vast majority of trivial and ephemeral writers as well — even today's detective story tellers and wholesale dealers in sadism, horror, and bloodshed.

Let me put the proposition more positively: I believe that in fact only a very few people relatively *are* interested in crime as crime, and even these few only in their capacities as professional specialists — legislators, lawyers, policemen, and, in more recent times, certain types of social scientists. And for all but the last of these the interest is severely practical: defining the crime, thwarting or apprehending the criminal, trying him, punishing him. Even the social scientist, though his approach may be somewhat more theoretical and detached, shares — does he not? — with these others a common practical purpose, which could be called broadly the *minimization* of crime. I am, of course, out of my field (and perhaps my depth as well) and would not wish to be guilty of oversimplification; but in what little reading I have done in the sociology and the psychology of crime, the emphasis has been almost exclusively upon cause and prevention, or cause with a view to prevention. And indeed I can think of no legitimate intellectual concern with crime other than its diagnosis and cure. That is why I say again that literature, whether serious or vulgar, is not really concerned with crime as such.

And I am back again at my paradox. For if writers like Conan Doyle, Agatha Christie, Dashiell Hammett, Raymond Chandler and their imitators; or to descend a step further, if writers of Radio and TV shows like *Peter Gunn*, *M-Squad*, *Gunsmoke*, *Have Gun Will Travel*, *77 Sunset Strip*, *Wanted Dead or Alive*, etc. etc. ad nauseam — if these writers are not concerned with crime, what are they concerned with? Well, for one thing, the *number* one thing, they are concerned with making money. And if that sounds like a pretty silly evasion of the question, bear with me a little. For the point is, they do make money — a scandalous lot of it; they make money because they command an audience numbering into the tens of millions. Including, let me confess, myself — and, let me guess, many of you.

And the question, not evaded but only placed in a different perspective, is *why*. Whence this nearly universal popularity of the shoot-'em-up and the whodunit? Why have more lynchings been committed or barely prevented in the past year or so on paper and celluloid than

have occurred in the South since Reconstruction? Why are more hay-makers landed in a two-minute fist-fight on *Bourbon Street Beat* or *Mr. Lucky* than in any 15-round heavyweight contest? Why is more ammunition expended and more blood spilled in the mass entertainment media of post-war America than on all the battlefields of world history?

Wouldn't it be nice if the answer to all these questions were the deep concern of the American public with the cause and prevention of crime? Wouldn't it be nice if our addiction to these art-forms derived from the moral delight we take in watching justice triumph over injustice? Wouldn't it be nice if the whole grisly panorama reflected an insatiable longing in the human breast to institutionalize the brotherhood of man under the laws of love and right reason? It would be nice — but does anyone seriously believe that it is so? I think not. I think we all know that if CBS and NBC made a joint declaration that law and order now prevailed in the TV West; that the last rustler and hired trigger had paid his debt to society; that the last greedy cattle-baron had seen the error of his ways and converted his range into a homesteaders' collective; that Matt Dillon, Zorro, Paladin, Wyatt Earp, and company could now hang up their Colts, Derringers, rapiers, Bowie knives, Mare's Legs, and long rifles — I think we all know that if this should ever happen, there would settle upon fifty millions of American hearts not a sweet Christian calm, but a raw consuming hunger.

For the real answer is — not so nice, maybe, but — very simple: *People like violence*. Wildwest and gangster shows exist for about the same reason as grocery stores or saloons — to feed an appetite. It is true that most crime entertainment is embellished to an ever increasing degree by sociological preachment and always points some edifying moral. But we do not watch it for that, anymore than we drink beer because it is full of health-giving vitamins. We drink beer because we are thirsty, and we watch *Border Patrol* or *Zane Grey Theatre* for the same reason. But what we are thirsty for in the second instance is blood — blood and a big bang.

So much — indeed, too much — for the popular literature of violence. I brought it up to show that even in the literature most apparently devoted to it, crime was not the real attraction, but something far more primitive than any legal or social concept. It doesn't immediately follow, of course, that *therefore* more responsible literature must be likewise unconcerned with crime as such. Nevertheless it is so, and I believe for a related reason. High art no less than low depends for its success (artistic as well as financial) on its appeal to what is universal in human nature. And the high art of violence no less than the low must take as its fundamental premise the universal blood-lust. The

difference is this — that while the literary hack is content to pander to this lust and exploit it shamelessly, the real poet explores it and seeks by realizing it dramatically to apprehend its meaning.

Now most emphatically — by “apprehend its meaning” I do not mean “discover its cause.” Causality, with its strong connotation of external, material forces at work, is the purview of the scientist, not the poet. (By the way, I use the word *poet* as the Germans use *Dichter*, for any serious creative writer whether in verse or prose.) For the poet, then, the cause (if *cause* is the word) of criminal violence has never been a problem. He has always known the solution or assumed that he has. And his solution tallies with none of the answers put forward by the sociologist or psychologist of crime: Neither Lombroso's theory of criminal types, nor Goring's theory of feeble-mindedness, nor the environmentalist theories of recent decades, nor the currently received notion of multiple causation. To the extent that any or all of these point to valid causes, they are causes only as weather, soil, and fertilizer are causes of an apple tree. No amount of sun, rain, and manure will produce an apple tree from an acorn; the essential and indispensable cause of an apple tree is an apple seed. And the essential and indispensable cause of human violence (according to any poet of stature whom I have ever read) is the deep primal cleavage in the human will itself.

Except that, as I say, *cause* is not the poet's word or the poet's concern. He does not study the human will in order to explain crime, or vice versa. The poet is not trying to *explain* anything; he is trying to *realize* life, to make it real, to bring it into sharp focus. And if he chooses violence as his subject, it is because he intuitively feels that here *is* life in a sense at its most real, here are the elements of human will in their sharpest isolation or their sharpest conflict.

I wish there were time to show at length the quite impressive unanimity on this subject of the great poets down through the ages. Without such a preliminary indeed, no discussion of our southern writers can make much sense; for it is only in the perspective of the long tradition they consciously embrace and carry forward that their true distinctiveness and significance becomes apparent. I can only say here that they do draw their sustenance from very distant fountains indeed; and that what they tell us only confirms and enriches what Homer and Aeschylus, what the writers of Genesis and Job, what Dante and Shakespeare and Milton told us long ago about this “deep cleavage in the human will,” as I called it just now.

But I do not insist upon the terminology. Call it will or mind or soul, human nature or human condition or human predicament; call it cleavage or conflict or perversity or paradox. I only insist upon the fact,

not the name. But I do believe there is a name most Southern writers would be willing to agree upon for the heart of the matter, and it is a characteristically old-fashioned one: Original Sin.

This is not to say that all Southern writers are orthodox Christians. But most of them *have* had an orthodox, even fundamentalist upbringing and have found in their upbringing a richness of meaning, a sense of concrete reality let us say, sadly lacking in the more sophisticated, scientific world of modernist thought. Though they may no longer attend the church of their fathers or accept its dogmas or even pray to its God, they reflect time and again their veneration for its values, their immersion in its poetry, and above all their belief in one of its assumptions which I believe to be basic — that somehow, somewhere, somewhen the nature of man ceased to be a simple harmonious whole, such as we may imagine the nature of animals or angels to be, and became instead, divided, polarized, at constant war with itself, incapable of any but the most momentary peace or satisfaction. It isn't necessary to believe that man acquired this nature by a single act of rebellion against God; you may, if you're so inclined, believe that the first ape who looked around and found his tail missing became suddenly conscious of his alienation from the animal kingdom and suffered a schizophrenic trauma, from which his descendants have never recovered. But what you must believe is that this alienation exists in all the sons and daughters of Eve; that each and everyone of us is conscious of simultaneous attractions and repulsions, that we love what we hate and hate what we love, destroy what we desire, desire what we have not because we don't have it and often because we know we should not have it or because . . . but I could go on with this catalogue of perversity ad infinitum. Anyhow, that's the way we are and our consciousness of being this way, accompanied as it always is by guilt, anxiety, and fear is the moral climate in which we habitually live — a climate for which sin may seem a misleading name but for which it is hard to find a better one.

Certainly the work of Mr. Faulkner's which I have chosen to offer in illustration makes no theological claims. That is one of the reasons I have chosen it. Had I picked any of the later, more overtly Christian Faulkner I might be accused of special pleading. But *Sansctuary* I think might be considered a fair test. The author himself confesses that he began it as a sensationalist pot-boiler and some critics still doubt that it ever transcended this purpose. A brief summary of the plot may show why:

In the course of a collegiate escapade, Temple Drake, a young coed, is taken to a bootlegger's hideout in the Mississippi backwoods where she is abandoned by her drunken escort. She witnesses a cold-blooded murder by a pervert gangster named Popeye who rapes her

with a corncob and then imprisons her in a Memphis whorehouse, partly to prevent her testifying against him, but primarily to gratify his delicate lust by watching her copulate with one of his young henchmen. Popeye murders the young henchman when he tries to elope with Temple, but she is discovered and released in time to attend the trial of Goodwin, the bootlegger who has been accused of the original murder. Then, either in fear of or loyalty to Popeye — or both — she testifies that it was Goodwin who committed both the murder and the rape. Goodwin is sentenced to death, but an indignant mob snatches him from jail, douses him with gasoline and burns him alive. Popeye is subsequently caught and executed for a murder he did not commit and Temple is last seen recuperating on the Riviera.

This is not the whole story, but it is enough to be getting on with: murder, rape, lynching, perjury, treachery — the whole docket of capital crime. *Sanctuary* is, in fact, from start to finish, an almost unrelieved nightmare of violence. But is it any more than this? I am not sure that it needs to be any more than this. I am not sure that the nightmare itself is not a valuable document of human nature. But if there is a meaning beyond the pure experience, the pure vision, it can be found in certain ironies that abound in the book: Popeye, the denaturalized demonic energy, incapable of love or any gratification for his impotent yearning except violent destructive action; and, at the other pole, Horace Benbow, Goodwin's defense attorney, full of the deepest love and understanding, but lacking the one thing Popeye possesses — the power of effective action; or Benbow's stepdaughter who pursues her own ruin largely as a spiteful rejection of Benbow's loving care; or his sister, who in the name of decency and respectability, sells out Benbow and his client to the district attorney; or Temple herself, horrified at her predicament, but excited by it too, even wallowing in it sometimes; or, finally, the mob out of their very moral indignation committing upon Goodwin an outrage far more cruel even than the one for which he has been wrongly convicted. And what is all this but one more revelation of incorrigible, unregenerate human nature — a nature composed, as I have said, of elements which mutually attract and repel each other; which brought together in the right dosages explode like atom bombs, or which kept apart break their leash and rush together like comets colliding. And again, it is the collision or explosion — the violence — which brings home to the reader those terrible elements which produced it, the elements that constitute his own soul.

If that does not explain fully what Faulkner is trying to say in *Sanctuary*, it does, I believe, fairly indicate what he is not trying to say. He is not attempting either a "realistic" description or prescription for crime in the Deep South. *Sanctuary* intends no aid or comfort to the social scientist or welfare worker. Parts of it, indeed, could almost be

interpreted as a calculated mockery of the more sentimental, no-such-thing-as-a-bad-boy, school of criminology. I am thinking particularly of the gratuitous episode at the end — a flashback which includes among other horrors the five-year-old Popeye cutting to pieces with a pair of scissors two live lovebirds and a kitten.

At any rate, what Faulkner may only seem to be implying about violence and human nature, Robert Penn Warren says very expressly in his long poem, *Brother to Dragons*. This explicitness makes it a better choice for my purpose than his better known work like *All the King's Men* or *The Cave*. For though the poem is an imaginary conversation no less fictitious than his novels, one of the speakers happens to be Warren himself; and what he says in his own person and what others say in substantial agreement, I think we can freely take as his real opinion.

Like all Warren's creative work, this one is based upon historical fact: Around 1800 one Charles Lewis, a doctor married to the sister of Thomas Jefferson, moved from Virginia to western Kentucky. He took with him his wife, their two grown sons, and a number of slaves. Shortly after, his wife died and Dr. Lewis himself returned to Virginia, leaving his sons, Lilburn and Isham, in charge of the Kentucky estate. On the night of Dec. 15, 1811, Lilburn, in the presence of his brother and his negroes, literally chopped to pieces with a meataxe a slave named George, ostensibly because George had broken a pitcher once prized by Mrs. Lewis. In time the atrocity came to light and the two brothers were indicted for murder. Released on bail, they arranged to forestall the hangman by shooting each other over their mother's grave; but the plan miscarried somehow, and only Lilburn died, while Isham ran away. He was captured and sentenced to death, but escaped once more. Three years later he was reported killed at the Battle of New Orleans.

This is the raw material — a very apt phrase — of the poem, but it conveys no idea of the poem itself. Warren describes its form in a note:

It is in dialogue spoken by characters, but it is not a play. The main body of the action is in the remote past — in the earthly past of the characters long dead — and now they meet at an unspecified place and at an unspecified time to try to make sense of the action. We may take them to appear, and disappear, as their inner urgencies, and the urgencies of argument, swell and subside. The place of this meeting is, as we may say, "no place," and the time is "any time."

Even this is somewhat misleading, for though principals do appear and give their account of the action in some detail, the real focus is on two characters quite outside that action: namely, Thomas Jefferson

and Warren himself, who comment at length upon the meaning of it all. Undoubtedly what attracted Warren to this historically insignificant episode was Jefferson's tenuous connection with it. Warren sees in Jefferson — as who does not? — an archetypal exponent of what might be called the New Salvation; I mean the now fashionable faith in the perfectibility of society through democratic institutions, universal education, and the application of scientific principles to human problems. Its fundamental assumption, of course, is that man is naturally good: it would view any such concept as original sin as simply the product of morbid superstition fostered by a vested clergy in collusion with a vested tyranny. Only let reason and social science free man's mind of these slavish fears and his happy harmonious future is assured. Or as Jefferson puts it in the Poem:

If we might take man's hand, strike shackle, lead him forth
 From his own monstrous nightmare — then his natural innocence
 Would dance like sunlight over the delighted landscape.
 And he would need no saint or angel then
 To tread the monsters, for man's own free foot
 Would tread them down like vintage in the press,
 And laughter more extravagant than the Burgundian would
 racket
 Round all the bright pendentives, coigns, and cornices of the sky.

This new optimistic religion, in the person of its foremost American prophet, Warren confronts with the unspeakable act of butchery in the Kentucky smokehouse. An act, be it observed, committed by Jefferson's own blood kin, born in a free republic to enlightened parents, and raised in the virgin wilderness far from the corrupt centers of civilization.

It is an unequal contest. Jefferson admits he's licked before it even begins. The quotation above was only a reminiscence of his youth. Now old and out of time, he knows better. He knows that man is not born loving good and hating evil, that even in his mythical struggles against the monsters of evil, it is the violence of the struggle which really attracts the hero from David savior of Israel to Jack the Giant Killer. If anyone is innocent it is the dragon, not St. George. And as for the struggle itself—

It is the sadistic farce by which the world is cleansed.
 And is not cleansed, for in the deep
 Hovel of the heart that Thing lies
 That will never unkennel himself to the contemptible steel,
 Nor needs to venture forth ever, for all sustenance

Comes in to him, the world comes in, and is his,
And supine yearns for the defilement of his slaving fang.

There are many such descriptions of the human heart, all emphasizing the ferocity and perversity which are its most inalienable characteristics. Even Love, the disillusioned Jefferson says in one place, "is but a mask to hide the brute face of fact and that fact is the immitigable ferocity of self." And though Warren puts in a demurrer here, yet a few pages later, he himself says

For if sweetness is there, then bitterness too,
In that hell-broth of paradox and internecine
Complex of motive and murderous intensity
We call the soul.

I wish there were time to convey by quotation after quotation the richness and beauty of this poem. But my purpose, I must remind myself, is only to indicate the value of violence, criminal violence, to the literary artist, particularly the contemporary Southerner. And while my meagre comment on Mr. Faulkner and Mr. Warren can scarcely be considered in any way definitive, I believe it does point out the direction we must look in understanding not only their work, but that of a good many others too. For I think my purpose would have been served about as well by illustrations from Allen Tate, Andrew Lytle, Thomas Wolfe, or even Eudora Welty or Peter Taylor. And I would not like to close that list without mentioning my friend and colleague Madison Jones. His recently published second novel *Forest of the Night* makes it quite evident that the younger generation of Southern writers find in violence the same fascination and the same high utility as their predecessors.

Utility is the word. Our poets, whether in verse or prose, wish neither to diagnose crime nor to cure it: they wish simply to use it as the most dramatic manifestation of man's proud, perverse, volcanic, unregenerate, or to use a word more appropriate to the occasion, unreconstructed soul.

THEODORE L. GROSS

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The South in The Literature of Reconstruction

The writers of Reconstruction played an important role in reconciling differences between North and South. They helped to ease the social and political conflicts of Reconstruction by describing in the 1880's and 1890's the restoration of national harmony that had taken place between the two sections. Reconstruction authors like Thomas Nelson Page, Joel Chandler Harris, Constance Fenimore Woolson, and John W. De Forest offered superficial descriptions of the post-bellum period, for they were obviously propagandists, legislating for peace. Few had experienced the period as adults, while none—with the significant exception of Albion W. Tourgee—reported the Reconstruction era from the point of view of a Radical Republican. In the fiction of Southern local colorists, the carpetbagger is the villain and the scalawag his conspiratorial partner; in the fiction of Northern authors, the same stereotypes are drawn, and sympathy is extended toward the displaced Southern gentry. Tourgee, a carpetbagger who lived in North Carolina from 1865-1879 and later recorded his experiences in such popular novels as *A Fool's Errand* (1879) and *Bricks Without Straw* (1880), occupies a unique position among the writers of Reconstruction literature. He was the only Northerner who wrote extensively about the period, the only writer who lived in the South as an adult throughout the period, and of greater importance, the only author who was an active politician in the carpetbagger regime. A comparison of Tourgee's record of Reconstruction (which is the finest apologia of Radical Republicanism in our literature) with that of other Reconstruction authors who opposed him politically demonstrates the attitudes of the country's most popular and influential writers and the effect of those attitudes on the reading public.

The differences between Tourgee and other Reconstruction authors are clearly illustrated by their presentation of two of the most common figures to appear in the fiction of Reconstruction — the Southern gentleman and the Negro. The “gentleman” represented, from the point of view of Southern writers, the finest qualities of the rich Southern tradition — the hospitality, the gentility, the manliness, the chivalry. In the fiction of local colorists, Southern gentlemen had a similar appearance. The “cavaliers” of such Southern novels as Maurice Thompson’s *Tallahassee Girl* (1884), Sherwood Bonner’s *Like Unto Like* (1878), and Page’s *Red Rock* (1898) could be transposed without doing injury to any of the novels. In each book the proud Southerner is idealized: “Look at our Southern gentleman,” remarks a character in Sherwood Bonner’s *Like Unto Like*, “the finest product of civilization, the ornament and pride of the human race.”¹

The religious and courtly tone that is present whenever Southern authors describe the gentleman implies that he is “sacred” and “chivalric” and therefore above reproach; he belongs to a special caste which has an indestructible pride in its own superiority. Southern gentlemen of the Reconstruction, Page reminds us in *Red Rock*, have “been overwhelmed, not whipped; cast down, but not destroyed. They still [have] the old spirit, the unconquerable spirit of their race, and, above all, they [have] the South.”² The carpetbagger, in the eyes of Southern gentlemen, is a “liar” and a “coward,” and conservative Northerners will eventually discover Radical Republicans to be avaricious and corrupt. Southerners insist on preserving “the spirit of their race”; they “propose to obey the laws” of the national government, as the hero of *Red Rock* remarks, but they “do not mean to be governed by negroes” or carpetbaggers.

Page’s Southern gentlemen are invariably benevolent. They treat the Negro with consideration so long as he remains a devoted servant rather than attempts to transcend his position and become an aspiring and ungrateful freedman; they respect the Northerner so long as he is not politically motivated. This stereotype was repeated by all Southern authors of Reconstruction. In Harris’ *Gabriel Tolliver* (1902) the Southern gentleman has great respect for the Negro who has not permitted himself to be controlled by the carpetbagger; in Thomas Dixon’s *The Clansman* (1905) the hero is a leader of the Ku Klux Klan, preserving “Southern civilization” from unruly Negroes and unscrupulous carpetbaggers. Southern authors, who had felt deep hostility toward Republicans during the Reconstruction, were understandably creating a defense

¹ Sherwood Bonner, *Like Unto Like* (New York, 1878), p. 148.

² Thomas Nelson Page, *Red Rock* (New York, 1898), p. 86.

of the Southern position by describing the gentleman as the symbol of all that was noble in Southern life.

This portrait of the Southern gentleman was reproduced and emulated by Northern authors of Reconstruction literature. In such works as Constance Fenimore Woolson's "Rodman the Keeper" (1877) and Maude Howe's *Atlanta in the South* (1886) the gentleman was idealized. At times, as in Thomas Bailey Aldrich's *My Cousin the Colonel* (1877), the excessive pride of the Southern gentleman is satirized; but this tendency was not typical, and even in Aldrich's novelette the bogus Southern "colonel" has redeeming virtues. The Northern author who described the Southerner most objectively was John W. De Forest. In his *A Union Officer in the Reconstruction*, he characterized the gentry of the South as "chivalrous Southrons." Though De Forest was able to appreciate the self-respect and personal pride, the dignity and "high-breeding," of the "men of native intelligence," he objected to their undue emphasis on virility and their unbearable "pugnacity." He recognized that "the chivalrous Southron" had been "too positively and authoritatively a political power to get fair treatment in literature. People have not described him; they have felt driven to declaim him; they have not preached for him or preached against him. Northern pens have not done justice to his virtues nor southern pens to his vices."³

Maurice Thompson, Sherwood Bonner, Page, Harris, Miss Woolson, De Forest, and other post-bellum writers viewed the Southern gentleman as their predecessors had conceived of him; despite the adversities of Reconstruction, he was still noble, well-mannered, and proud. Albion W. Tourgee was equally fond of the "gentleman" as a fictional hero, but in his work the gentleman is not superior to his personal misfortunes, nor is he always courageous.

In *A Royal Gentleman*, his first novel and the first work of fiction to deal directly with Reconstruction, Tourgee examines the romantic relationship of a plantation owner and his mulatto slave — a theme carefully avoided by other post-bellum authors —, with the intention of dramatizing the rigidity of the caste system in the South. Tourgee pictures the slave Toinette as a tender animal who "devours" the lessons of her master, who emulates him completely, who permits him to manipulate her — in a benovolent and instructive way, of course. At this point certainly the Negro heroine is far from equal to her white master, but Tourgee's implication is that her rapid progress will lead to a state of equality. His purpose in showing Toinette's mental accomplishments, her ability to grasp all that her master had learned, is clear: she, as a representative slave, has the capacity for in-

³ John W. De Forest, *A Union Officer in the Reconstruction* (New Haven, 1948), ed. James H. Cronshore and David Morris Potter, pp. 703-704.

tellectual progress. Her exceptional advancement dramatizes Tourgee's belief that education ought to be offered every Negro. Although Geoffrey Hunter has the standard virtues common to the heroes of Reconstruction fiction, he is finally criticized by Tourgee for refusing to recognize his former slave as an emancipated human being after the Civil War. Hunter, unwilling to marry his ante-bellum mistress, tells her, "You presume on my love — you think me so enamoured that I will degrade myself and disgrace my family openly to obtain you. You are mistaken."⁴

When Tourgee wrote, in the preface to *A Royal Gentleman* (p.v) that "since the legal status of the two races has become identical, it is a task of extreme delicacy to trace the line of previous habit and note its continued strength," he was defining the particular difficulties which faced him as a reconstruction author; throughout his novels of the South he attempts to "trace only those unconscious influences which shape and mold mental and moral qualities, and through which Slavery still lives and dominates." In *A Royal Gentleman* Tourgee offers his most explicit criticism of the Southern gentleman; he is certain that "the life of the present is engrafted on the root of the past," that "caste supremacy established and maintained by unlawful violence is a far more dangerous condition than Slavery ordained and regulated by law."⁵

In his other novels, Tourgee repeats his criticism of the Southern gentleman. Geoffrey Hunter cannot accept Toinette, for he will "disgrace his family" and tradition; but he is not vicious or cruel. In *A Fool's Errand*, however, Southern gentlemen are portrayed as potential, if not actual, fanatics in their defense of Southern society. They now become unscrupulous members of the Ku Klux Klan.

Tourgee's fundamental differences from Southern authors is well illustrated by his singular description of the Ku Klux Klan. In the novels of Page, Harris, and Dixon, the Klan is a defense against a "group of pothouse politicians" who, as Dixon wrote in *The Leopard's Spots* (1902), "attempt to wipe out the civilization of the South."⁶ In Page's *Red Rock* (p.351) the hero is a Klan leader, but he does not countenance violence; he informs his Northern lover that "there are no Ku Klux here — there never were any — except for a little while . . . and there is not one in the County or in the South who would do you an injury, or with whom, if you were now thrown, you would not be as safe as if you were guarded by a regiment." The Southern gentleman

⁴ Albion W. Tourgee, *A Royal Gentleman* (New York, 1881), p. 441.

⁵ Tourgee to E. H. Johnson, May 15, 1902, the Tourgee papers, Chautauqua County Historical Museum, Westfield, Chautauqua County, New York.

⁶ Thomas Dixon, *The Leopard's Spots, A Romance of the White Man's Burden* (New York, 1902), p. 150.

resorts to the Ku Klux Klan only to suppress carpetbaggers and insurgent Negroes; and he objects (p. 528) to the later Klan, "a cowardly body of cutthroats," asserting that it is "no longer the old organization which . . . had acted for the public good, and with a high purpose." Similarly, in Harris' *Gabriel Tolliver* (1902) "the Knights of the White Camellia" are organized to defy the Union League, to disturb "the meetings of Negroes";⁷ in Dixon's *The Leopard's Spots* (p. 150), Klan members protect Southern civilization from "African barbarism" — they act only in self-defense, and the Ku Klux Klan becomes "the answer to their foes of a proud and indomitable race of men driven to the wall."

Tourgee describes, in *A Fool's Errand*, a clan comprised of frightened Southern racists who murder outspoken Negroes. As far as it goes, Tourgee's description is accurate — the murder of Uncle Jerry, for example, is based on that of Wyatt Outlaw, a Negro leader who was lynched by the Ku Klux Klan; the stabbing of John Walters is a description of the death of John Stephens, Radical leader in North Carolina. But Tourgee selects his facts — as do the Southern authors — to fit the point of view he is representing. The reader does not have the impression, while reading *A Fool's Errand*, that there were Klansmen (and most of them influential leaders within the Klan) who objected to violence. Those gentlemen admired by Tourgee are the Southerners who finally renounce the Klan and accept the equality of Negroes.

The Southern writers of Reconstruction describe the gentleman as a passive hero; Tourgee's gentleman, however, is aggressively active. According to Page and other Southerners, the gentleman is responding to hostile assaults on his cherished civilization; from Tourgee's point of view, he is an advocate of white supremacy. The Southerners who are the ultimate heroes in Tourgee's fiction are those men who had been misled by racists but who finally assert their belief in the dignity of the Negro and the carpetbagger. Tourgee's attitude is most clearly expressed in *Bricks Without Straw*. Hesden Le Moyne, the Southern hero of the novel, is held "unworthy to wear the proud appellation, 'A Southern gentleman'," ⁸ when he renounces his conservative position and becomes a Radical Republican; but he has converted from benevolent racism to humanitarianism. He has become in fact Tourgee himself.

Far more varied in conception than the Southern gentleman was the Negro; as the central figure of Reconstruction, he lent substance to timeworn sentimental fables. From the point of view of most Southern authors, he was villain or saint, depending on whether or not he actively asserted his rights as freedman. If he demanded equal oppor-

⁷ Joel Chandler Harris, *Gabriel Tolliver; a Story of Reconstruction* (New York, 1902), p. 259.

⁸ Tourgee, *Bricks Without Straw* (New York, 1880), p. 420.

tunity as a newly-enfranchised citizen, he was pictured as partner in the Republican conspiracy to undermine the congenial race relations that had existed in ante-bellum times; if, on the other hand, he desired to perpetuate his role as servant, he was drawn as a contented Negro who enjoyed status in Southern society, gained the admiration of his kindly masters, and in turn recognized the kindness of the white man. As Tourgee observed, there were two types of Negroes: "the devoted slave, happy if the scene was laid in days of slavery, the guardian of his white folks if the grimmer postwar South was the period of the story, and the confused freedman who usually was rescued from semi-ludicrous predicaments by the white people to whom he once had belonged."⁹

In the fiction of Thomas Nelson Page and Thomas Dixon these attitudes toward the Negro are most obvious, but they appear also in the stories and novels of Joel Chandler Harris, Mary Murfree, Maurice Thompson, and innumerable minor writers. Harris was able to share the fears and laughter and anger of the Negro; and he contributed the most popular Negro characters to American fiction — Uncle Remus, Balaam, Ananias, and Mingo. But when he wrote his one Reconstruction novel — *Gabriel Tolliver*, in 1902, Harris could not completely sympathize with the Negro who had insisted on immediate reconstruction. The average Negroes — the illiterate colored men who blindly supported the Union League — he depicted as misguided children controlled by Republicans; for them Harris had only a feeling of compassion. "The Niggers ain't no more to blame for all this trouble than a parcel of two year-old children," a Southerner comments. "You mark my words: the niggers will suffer, and these white rascals will go scot free" (pp.258-259). But for the informed and aggressive colored leader who supported the Union League Harris felt only hostility, certain that he was using his fellow Negroes for his own aggrandisement.

He [the Reverent Jeremiah, leader of the 'Negroes] was not a vicious Negro. In common with the great majority of his race — in common, perhaps with men of all races — he was eaten up by a desire to become prominent, to make himself conspicuous. Generations of civilization (as it is called) have gone far to control it to some extent, though now and then we see it crop out in individuals. But there had been no toning down of the Reverent Jeremiah's egotism; on the contrary, it had been fed by the flattery of his congregation until it was gross and rank. (pp. 162-163)

⁹ Tourgee, "The South as a Field for Fiction," *The Forum*, VI (December, 1888), p. 409.

Reconstruction, from Harris' viewpoint, was a tragedy for all participants. The final catastrophe of *Gabriel Tolliver* is a result of the immoral manipulation of Negroes: a colored man, who has been urged against his will to join the Radicals, murders the white Republican leader of the Union League because he believes erroneously that the carpetbagger is having an affair with his mulatto wife. The Republican is a pious, ascetic man, fanatically dedicated to a futile cause; the mulatto wife feels vaguely superior to her pure-bred Negro husband and attempts to seduce the carpetbagger; and the Negro, the most lamentable figure in the book, is an uncertain and confused man. Having forsaken the Southern white master whom he was able to trust, he is taught to desire luxuries that have never been part of his culture. Harris does not censure the common Negro for his actions during Reconstruction; whatever anger is in his book — and there is comparatively little — is directed toward those Northerners who insisted on "Americanizing" the Southerner.

Harris primarily described the comic and local color Negro, although, in writing of Reconstruction, he saw the colored man as wretched and bewildered. Thomas Nelson Page also saw the comic aspects of the Negro, but he, more than any other writer, fostered the image of the contented slave. His best stories — "Marse Chan," "Meh Lady," and "Ole 'Stracted" — recall the allegedly congenial race relations which existed "befoah the war," when, from the point of view of the Negro, "dyar warn' no trouble nor nuthin'."¹⁰ Thus Page expressed the legend of a past splendor through the ex-slaves themselves, those upon whose labor the system was founded and for whose sake it was destroyed.

Although Page supported the restored Union, he felt that the only healthy solution to the race problem would stem from the master-slave relationship which existed before the Civil War. The Negro needed guidance, Page knew, but he asserted repeatedly that the guidance should be given by the Southerner — the Negro problem, after all, was a Southern problem. And the late nineteenth century Northern legislators, as Rayford W. Logan has pointed out in *The Negro in American Life and Thought* (1954), tended to agree with him.

In his two Reconstruction novels, *Red Rock* and *The Red Riders* (1924), Page was compelled because of his bias to picture the "Wretched" or "Brute Negro." The real villains, as in Harris' *Gabriel Tolliver*, are the carpetbaggers and scalawags, but Page could

¹⁰ Page, "Marse Chan," In *Ole Virginia, or Marse Chan and other Stories* (New York, 1892), p. 10.

not be so sympathetic as Harris toward those Negroes who had deserted their masters and now misused their newly-won rights. They idly hovered about railway stations, he noted; they were discourteous to the white gentry — to those who had been only benevolent and considerate in ante-bellum times; and they supported the most abhorrent Republican leaders. Page heightened his characterization by contrasting these “unfaithful” Negroes with the few loyal freedmen who refused to leave the plantation. “I was born ‘pon dis plantation,” remarks one devoted Negro, “and I has lived here de length of man’s allotted days, an’ I seed ginerations come and go right here, and I has always considered it my home and I still considers it so.”¹¹

Because of Page’s narrow point of view, *Red Rock* and *The Red Riders* fail as novels. All the characters are stereotypes, as their names clearly suggest: Jonadab Leech, the carpetbagger; Joseph Grease, the scalawag; Captain Middleton, a respected Northern commander of Virginia. Characters are not defined as human beings; they are used as propaganda instruments. And yet, despite the sensitive Southern pride which colors the two novels, despite the distortions which result from Page’s bias, it should be noted that *Red Rock* was the first account of Reconstruction which was frankly rendered; Page felt no inhibition in writing his novel.

The Southern authors’ characterization of the Negro proved to be immensely popular. In the 1880’s such Northern writers as Frank Stockton, Harriet Spofford, and Constance Fenimore Woolson accepted the Southern version of Reconstruction; the admirable freedman was the devoted Negro who recalled his contended existence before the war and who voluntarily remained faithful to his past masters. As Tourgee realized, the favorite formula of Reconstruction authors — Northern and Southern — was one in which the Negro alleviated his ex-master’s poverty. In Harris’ “Aunt Fountain’s Prisoner” he divided with the whites, rations he received from Freedman’s Bureau; in Jeanie Woodville’s “Uncle Pompey’s Christmas” he stole for his former owners; in Octave Thanet’s *Half-a-Curse* (1887) he supported his previous master by fighting against a rapacious overseer. At times he maintained a pride in the disintegrating manor house, as in Virginia Boyle’s *Brockenburne* (1897), Frances Baylor’s *Claudia Hyde* (1894), and Paul Dunbar’s “The Colonel’s Awakening” (1898). Of, if he had been affected by the new radical ideas of the Republicans, he experimented with freedom — as in Harris’ “Mom-Bi” (1887) and Mrs. Boyle’s “A Kingdom for Micajah” (1900) —, but he quickly returned to the peaceful existence of the slave. More often, however, the noble Negro — like Aunt Martha of William Baker’s

¹¹ Page, *The Red Riders* (New York, 1924), p. 91.

Mose Evans (1874) — refused to attempt freedom under any conditions. These Reconstruction novels and stories were a lament for a tradition authors felt was being undermined; the condemnation of the freedman was largely reinforced by the reminder of better days before the war, and except for Thomas Dixon (the author of *The Leopard's Spots*, *The Clansman*, and *The Traitor*) post-bellum writers were not bitter.

The Negroes in Tourgee's fiction are pariahs, independent people who refuse to resume their abject role of slave and are consequently denied full freedom by the whites. 'Toinette, the mulatto heroine of *A Royal Gentleman*, has been educated by her white lover, but once the war is over she demands equal rights; Tourgee carefully informs us that 'Toinette has been emancipated intellectually as well as legally. Nimbus, the Negro protagonist of *Bricks Without Straw*, insists on the opportunity to earn his own livelihood, to improve his economic status, but when he begins to prosper, the white community suppresses him, and he is forced to escape to the North.

Tourgee's portrait of the Negro is of course not wholly accurate. Since his knowledge of ante-bellum conditions was academic rather than personal, he knew little of the Negro as a slave. Moreover, he refused to admit that the freedman, for whatever extenuating reasons one might mention, did steal and at times murder; many of the post-bellum Negroes, as Henderson Donald in *The Negro Freedman* (1952) has shown, felt that slavery "had won for them the right to refrain from work, to live in idleness and enjoy themselves."¹² In Tourgee's fiction the Negro is hero and is never viewed as unruly or insurgent; and his former master becomes the villain. The portrait of the South during Reconstruction which Harris and Page drew is now reversed, and Tourgee, in attempting to explore the Negro character, errs in the opposite direction; whereas the independent freedman is described as a menace to a white Southern civilization in the literature of Southern authors, he is idealized by Tourgee.

Tourgee rebelled against the stereotyped portrait of the Negro that appeared in post-bellum fiction. Part of his rebellion was naturally caused by his political bias; all of these authors, he believed, wrote with a conviction in Negro inferiority. But he was also convinced that even from the point of view of literature, the American writer was not appreciating the potentialities of the Negro as a fictional character.

About the Negro as a man [he wrote in 1888] with hopes, fears, and aspirations like any other man, our literature is very

¹² Henderson H. Donald, *The Negro Freedman, Life Conditions of the American Negro in the Early Years After Emancipation* (New York, 1952), p. 10.

nearly silent The Negro is either the devoted slave, but such a man was a miracle — or he is the man to whom liberty has brought only misfortune. Much has been written of the slave and something of the freedman, but thus far no-one has been found able to weld the new life to the old The life of the Negro as a slave, freedman, and racial outcast offers undoubtedly the richest mine of romantic material that has opened to the English-speaking novelist since the Wizard of the North discovered and depicted the common life of Scotland. The Negro as a man has an immense advantage over the Negro as servant, being an altogether new character in fiction.¹³

Tourgee's literary theory was more accurate than his practice. The Negro as an outcast did offer vast possibilities to late nineteenth century authors, though few of them — Mark Twain is a notable exception — took full advantage of the new fictional character. Tourgee himself saw the freedman too narrowly, and it was not until the twentieth century that authors were able to describe the Negro as essentially non-political, as someone not always being manipulated for political purposes.

As sentimental as the fiction of Thomas Nelson Page, Joel Chandler Harris, and lesser writers may have been, it succeeded in establishing the Southern conception of Reconstruction on the national mind. The "gentlemen" were pictured as nobly enduring the indefensible and oppressive regime of Radical Republicanism, and only when the tyranny of carpetbaggers became intolerable was there reversion to such an organization as the Ku Klux Klan. And the Negroes were drawn as the bewildered victims of unscrupulous carpetbagger leaders; they, as well as the whites, recalled a better time "befoah the war." In the hearts of all these Southerners there was no rebellion, no hatred, no desire for renewed strife; and their land became a welcome haven for Northerners who wished to live in an agrarian culture. So dominant was this picture of the post-bellum South, so eagerly did people of the North accept it, that by the mid-1880's Northern writers were imitating these same themes of reconciliation in their own Reconstruction fiction.

Tourgee attempted to teach — indeed one might say to preach — his own version of a "noble lesson," but he had provided himself with an unpopular text, and his lecture was quite different from that of other authors describing the Reconstruction South. Tourgee was politically out of step with his contemporaries — not only with the majority of politicians but with literary men as well. *A Fool's Errand* and *Bricks*

13 Tourgee, "The South as a Field for Fiction," pp. 408, 409, 410.

Without Straw were written at a time when Northerners were losing interest in the Negro; they proved popular because they were the only complete fictional accounts of Reconstruction until that time, and the public was extremely curious regarding the conditions that had existed in the South. But it was curiosity rather than sympathy that led people to read Tourgee's best novels. When that interest had been satisfied by subsequent writers — writers who described the South in a more conciliatory and hence more agreeable fashion —, the general response to Tourgee was one of hostility, at best of indifference. Tourgee recognized the unpopularity of his position; in 1888 he was finally compelled to admit the predominance of Southern fiction and the Southern interpretation of Reconstruction. "Our literature," he wrote, "has become not only Southern in type, but distinctly Confederate in sympathy A foreigner studying our current literature without knowledge of our history and judging our civilization by our fiction, would undoubtedly conclude that the South was the seat of intellectual empire in America, and the African the chief romantic element of our population."¹⁴

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 405.

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Urban Identification of Rural Migrants

The migration of rural reared persons into urban areas serves an important function for society as a whole. Today as in the past urban industrial growth is dependent upon a reserve of workers to fill positions in industry and commerce created by new economic growth and/or the retirement of older persons from the labor force. In the early history of this country this reserve of workers came either from the migration of rural reared persons into the city or from international migration. However, during the last generation international migration into the United States has for all essential purposes been terminated, and the bulk of city-ward migration has occurred among persons reared in the rural United States.

The migration of persons out of rural areas, of course, helps to alleviate the problem of excessive underemployment in rural society which is an inevitable consequence of the high rural birth rate and the misplacement of workers through technological developments in agriculture. Thus, the migration of rural reared persons into cities is a cumulative process.¹ As the size of the farm reared element in the urban population increases so does the importance of information on the urban fate of rural reared persons.

Studies of migration have dealt with various aspects of the rural-urban migration problem or have implications for it. Three broad types of studies may be identified: (1) rural-urban population move-

1 A study conducted with a national sample showed that more than twice as many farm reared adults were living off the farm as on the farm in 1952. See: Ronald Freedman and Deborah Freedman, "Farm-Reared Elements in the Nonfarm Population," *Rural Sociology*, XXI (March 1956), 50-61.

ments, including the volume of migration and the description of migrants, (2) social and economic achievement of rural migrants in urban society, and (3) social organization and disorganization arising from migration and experienced in the life of the individual migrant and in some cases by communities at either end of the migration process.

In its broadest aspects this paper falls within the third type of study as an investigation of social organization and disorganization associated with the migration of rural families into urban areas. The specific concerns of the paper are: (1) To what extent do rural reared persons who move into cities identify with urban society? and (2) What factors are associated with urban identification?

To help answer these questions personal interviews were conducted with the heads of rural migrant families in the Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, metropolitan area. Persons to be interviewed were chosen when a random sample of all households in the Pittsburgh area was drawn. A household was defined as any dwelling unit which had separate eating and sleeping arrangements. Data were collected from a total of 1,470 families. These families were sorted according to the residential background of the head, and three migrant status categories were identified: (1) rural migrants (2) urban migrants, and (3) non-migrants. In order to be classified as a rural migrant family, the head of the family must have lived in the country until age 15. One hundred and sixty-six families fell in the rural migrant category. However, it was felt that families with the most rural background should be selected. Additional restrictions, therefore, were that both spouses must have lived in the country until age of 15, and that both spouses must be residing in the household at the time of the interview. When these restrictions were imposed the size of the sample was reduced to 105.

An Operational Definition of Urban Identification

There is a profusion of literature on the problems which rural reared persons experience when they take up residence in urban areas.² Most of this literature is concerned with the study of problems of adjusting to urban society. Although this study is not directly concerned with adjustment there are several reasons why the concept of adjustment as used in previous empirical studies should be reviewed at this time. To this writer's knowledge there are no studies which have dealt specifically with the degree to which rural migrants identify with urban society. However, many of the studies of adjustment have used measures

² See: George L. Wilber and James S. Bang, *Internal Migration in the United States, 1940-1957: A List of References*, (State College: Mississippi Agricultural Experiment Station, Sociology and Rural Life Series No. 10, October, 1958).

which indirectly measure urban identification. Thus, some of the studies of adjustment could be interpreted within a framework of identification, and in practically every study some insight into identification is given. Also the studies of adjustment have implications for the problem which is considered here in that most of these studies may be placed within a common theoretical framework which is applicable to the study of identification.

Adjustment has been studied on two levels, personal and social. Personal adjustment has been defined as that state in which a person is happy and satisfied with all aspects of his life, and social adjustment has been defined as that state in which a person fulfills the expectations which society imposes upon him.³ Studies of personal adjustment have stressed such aspects of adjustment as attitude toward the new community, satisfaction with job, neighbors, and urban society in general. Studies of social adjustment have generally compared rural migrants with non-migrants on such aspects of daily life as daily behavior, social and economical achievements, and social participation patterns. Although these studies have generally failed to make it explicit, it should be stated that the two types of adjustment may be independent of each other. The person who is socially adjusted in any environment may be personally unadjusted and vice versa.

Regardless of the level on which adjustment is studied, however, it is possible to cast the empirical studies of the adjustment problems of rural migrants to cities as well as this study of urban identification within a common generic theoretical frame of reference.⁴ For example, all studies either implicitly or explicitly assume that: (1) cultural differences exist between communities in our society, i.e., each community has a sub-culture; (2) this culture is shared by members of the community and it serves as a guide to interaction by defining acceptable ways of behaving under given conditions; and (3) migrants into any community must acquire this culture if they are to lead a happy life within the cultural system of the community. Therefore, since rural and urban communities exhibit even more pronounced cultural differences than communities within the same type, migrants from rural to urban society must make a large cultural transition before they can be "successful" in urban society.

3 See: Joseph K. Folsom and C. Morgan, "The Social Adjustment of 381 Recipients of Old Age Allowances," *American Sociological Review*, II (April 1933), 223-229; Peter A. Munch, "Social Adjustment among Wisconsin Norwegians," *American Sociological Review*, XIV (December, 1949), 780-787; E. B. Strong, "Individual Adjustment in Industrial Society," *American Sociological Review*, XIV (June 1949), 335-346; Arthur E. Traxler, *Techniques of Guidance* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1945), p. 335; and Burleigh B. Gardner, *Human Relations in Industry*, (Chicago: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1945), pp. 170-171.

4 For a concise statement of this theory see: Arnold M. Rose and Jean Warshay, "The Adjustment of Migrants to Cities," *Social Forces*, XXXVI (October 1957), 72-76.

In personal adjustment this takes the form of changes in attitudes, values and behavior from that which is typically rural to that which is typically urban. In social adjustment it means achieving social and economic status equal to the status of urban residents, equal participation in formal and informal social activities, etc. In either case the degree and rate of adjustment vary with the type of individual and the relative amount of adjustment required. Factors which may promote or impede adjustment are personal and social characteristics, including amount and type of formal education, age, sex, family status, religious affiliation, and economic opportunities, as well as length of residence in the community.

The degree to which rural migrants acquire attitudes and values of preference for life in Pittsburgh is taken as an indication of urban identification. Urban identification in turn may facilitate adjustment for the migrants. The operational definition of urban identification used in this study consists of a multiple item index of attitudes toward life in Pittsburgh. The attitudes were tapped by questions designed to show whether the respondents considered Pittsburgh or their home community the better place to live when various aspects of social life were taken into account.

The questions designed to elicit attitudes toward Pittsburgh as a place to live were:

1. How much do you feel you belong to this community?
2. Do you think the city or the country is a better place to raise children?
3. Do you think people are more friendly here than they were in the country?
4. Have you and your spouse gotten along better here than you did in the country?
5. Has your family been better satisfied in Pittsburgh than they were in the country?
6. How does the amount of social life you have now compare with the amount you had when you lived in the country?
7. How does the number of friends you have now compare with the number of friends you had in the country?
8. Do you think your friends are closer or more intimate in Pittsburgh than they were in the country?
9. Have you ever considered moving back to the country?
10. Where would you like for your children to grow up?

The responses to these questions were tabulated and frequency distributions were made. From the frequency distributions it was possible to dichotomize the responses to each question as indicating either a

preference for life in Pittsburgh or the country. Respondents were then given a score for each question and their total urban identification score was calculated. Scoring was on a zero-one basis. Respondents who indicated a preference for Pittsburgh over the country as a place to live received a score of one for the question. Respondents who indicated a preference for the country on any question received a score of zero for that question. Thus, those with lowest scores possessed the greatest identification with rural society.

After the responses were scored and the total score calculated an item analysis was conducted to determine if the items could be scaled.⁵ Seven items survived the item analysis and made up the index of urban identification. These were items 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 above. Thus, the urban identification scores for the 105 rural migrant families range from zero to seven. A distribution of the scores showed that the rural migrants were generally less favorable toward life in Pittsburgh than in the country. Nearly one in four of rural migrants showed a complete lack of identification with Pittsburgh as indicated by their scores of zero on the index, and another 29 percent showed only mild identification as indicated by their scores of one and two. A remaining 43 percent were more or less evenly distributed from scores of three to five. Only five percent might be classified as strongly identified with Pittsburgh according to their scores on the index. Four percent scored six, and only one family scored seven, Table 1.

Factors Associated with Urban Identification

A second objective of the study was to observe the association between urban identification and several independent factors in the population. After a review of the empirical studies which are concerned with and have implications for this problem the following general hypothesis was stated: *The degree to which rural migrants identify with urban society is associated with their position in the social and economic structure of the community.* This hypothesis was tested by classifying rural migrants according to their urban identification scores and variables designed to show their position in the social and economic structure of the community. These variables were subsumed under three major headings: (1) family factors, (2) economic factors, and (3) participation in the social life of the community.

Family status. Neither stage in the family life cycle nor size of family was significantly associated with the urban identification of the

⁵ See: James H. Copp, "Trace Line Analysis: An Improved Method of Item Analysis," (University Park: Agricultural Experiment Station, Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, unpublished manuscript), available from the author.

rural migrants. However, there was a tendency for young families without children or with young children to identify more closely with urban society than did the older families without children. Also when size of family was considered the smaller families tended to possess higher urban identification scores than did families with five or more members.

These findings are not in agreement with the findings of the empirical studies of migrant adjustment, and due to the connection between adjustment and identification they were unanticipated in this study. Omari found that family factors played a crucial role in the adjustment of migrants to Beloit, Wisconsin,⁶ as did Beynon in his study of the Southern white migrants in Michigan.⁷ However, it should be remembered that a control on family status is incorporated into the design of this study in that only family units are considered. Perhaps the findings would have been different if single-member households had been considered.

Economic Factors. Education and housing status were significantly associated with the urban identification of rural migrants. Education was considered when families were classified according to the maximum number of years of schooling completed by any member of the household. The assumption behind this classification scheme was that the same social and economic benefits from education would accrue to the family regardless of which member possessed the maximum education. The association between education and urban identification was positive, i.e., as education increased so did urban identification. One exception to this pattern, however, was the tendency for the most highly educated rural migrants to make lower urban identification scores. Seventy percent of rural migrant families with urban identification scores of 3-7 had completed 12 or fewer years of schooling, compared to 55 percent of the families with urban identification scores of 0-2. On the other hand, only 30 percent of the families with scores of 3-7 had attended or completed college, compared to 45 percent of the families with scores of 0-2, Table 2.

Housing status was considered when families were classified according to their housing status with a three-item index consisting of average monthly rent, conditions of house, and room per person ratio.⁸ The relationship between housing status and urban identification was generally positive. A larger proportion of families with low housing

6 Thompson Peter Omari, "Factors Associated with Urban Adjustment of Rural Southern Migrants," *Social Forces*, XXXV (October 1956), 47-53.

7 Erdmann Doane Beynon, "The Southern White Laborer Migrants to Michigan," *American Sociological Review*, III (June 1935), 334-343.

8 This index was constructed in the same manner as the urban identification index.

scores also possessed low urban identification scores. However, a slightly larger proportion of families with low urban identification scores than of families with high urban identification scores scored three on the housing index, Table 3.

There was no association between major occupation of husband, income and over-all socio-economic status as measured by a multiple item socio-economic status index.⁹ However, there was a tendency for urban identification to increase with income and socio-economic status. When occupations were considered separately a larger proportion of rural migrants in professional and semi-professional, and proprietary, managerial and official occupations possessed high urban identification scores. However, when occupations were dichotomized according to a white collar-blue collar schema, blue collar families were more satisfied with Pittsburgh as a place to live than the white collar families as indicated by their scores on the urban identification index.

Social Participation. Membership in organized groups was also significantly associated with urban identification.¹⁰ As families became more involved in organized social activities, they also became more favorable toward Pittsburgh as a place to live. However there was a tendency for identification to drop slightly among the most active families, a slightly higher percentage of families with social participation scores of 15 and over scored 0-2 on the urban identification index than scored 3-7, Table 4.

Finally on the basis of the theoretical framework it was predicted that urban identification would increase with length of residence in the community. The underlying assumption was that those persons who initially experienced difficulty in identifying with urban society would slowly acquire many of the urban cultural traits. The classification of rural migrants according to urban identification scores and length of residence in Pittsburgh showed that these factors were significantly associated. As predicted, the association was positive, Table 5.

Summary and Implications

This paper had as its purpose the classification of 105 rural migrant families in Pittsburgh according to their identification with urban society and to observe factors which might be associated with urban identification.

⁹ This index was constructed in the same manner as the urban identification index and included housing score, major occupation of husband, and monthly income.

¹⁰ Formal participation scores were calculated by the Chapin scale. See F. Stuart Chapin, *Social Participation Scale* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957).

The general hypothesis which was tested was: *The degree to which rural migrants identify with urban society is associated with their position in the social and economic structure of the community.* This hypothesis was tested by classifying families according to their degree of identification with urban society and factors which indicated their position in the social and economic structure of the community. Urban identification was measured by an index of general attitudes toward Pittsburgh as a place to live. About one-fourth of the rural migrants indicated a complete lack of identification with Pittsburgh, and only one family identified with Pittsburgh on all items considered.

The analysis showed that urban identification was significantly associated with: (1) maximum education in the household, (2) housing status, (3) amount of formal social participation, and (4) length of residence in the community. Therefore, the general hypothesis as stated was accepted. The association for each of these factors was positive. However, the most highly educated and those with the highest formal participation scores tended to be less satisfied with Pittsburgh as a place to live than families who were less well educated and less active. This probably is a reflection of the desires of the better educated and more active group in Pittsburgh to see the community move forward in all phases of its social and economic aspects. A different study showed that some of the rural migrants in Pittsburgh are substantial community leaders, and some of these persons are, of course, included among the rural migrants considered in this study.¹¹

No association was found between urban identification and family status, major occupation of husband, income and over-all socio-economic status. These findings disagree with previous observations of migrants and were unanticipated. The lack of association between urban identification and economic factors may be explained by the high level of economic achievement of all rural migrants in Pittsburgh. The study alluded to above also showed that rural migrants in Pittsburgh generally outranked natives on all levels of economic achievement.¹² Education and participation in the social life of the community, therefore, appear to be two of the most important considerations in the acquisition of an urban orientation by rural migrants. Rural migrants who rank high on these factors, of course, represent the most cosmopolitan rural elements. Inasmuch as urban society offers many outlets for this type of person that rural society generally does not offer, this type of person may be personally better fitted to life in an urban environment. Objective factors such as income may be of minor importance in the acquisition of an urban orientation, but other studies have shown that most mi-

11 Gerald O. Windham, *Socio-Economic Status and Formal Social Participation of Rural Migrant Families in Pittsburgh*, uup. dissertation, Pennsylvania State University, 1960.

12 *Ibid.*

gration occurs for economic reasons. Therefore, it is impossible to evaluate the role of economic achievement in attitudes of rural migrants toward urban society without considering such things as pre-migration aspiration for higher economic status, relative loss or gain of social and economic status as a result of migration, etc. Finally, length of residence in the community is important in the acquisition of an urban orientation or any form of migrant adjustment. A positive association between length of residence is an integral part of most theoretical attempts to explain adjustment, and it has by now become established empirically.

Table 1. Urban Identification Score of 105 Rural Migrant Families in Pittsburgh

Urban Identification Score	Number	Percent
0	23	22
1	11	10
2	20	19
3	16	15
4	18	17
5	12	11
6	4	4
7	1	1

Table 2. Classification of Rural Migrant Families in Pittsburgh by Urban Identification Scores and Highest Number of Years of Schooling Completed in the Household

Highest Number of Years of Schooling Completed	Urban Identification Scores			
	0-2		3-7	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
0-8	11	20	6	12
9-12	19	35	30	59
12-over	24	45	15	30

P = .05 as indicated by Chi Square

Table 3. Classification of Rural Migrant Families in Pittsburgh by Urban Identification Scores and Housing Status Scores

Housing Status Scores	Urban Identification Scores			
	0-2		3-7	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
0	9	17	7	14
1	10	18	16	31
2	14	26	10	20
3	21	39	18	35

P. = .125 as indicated by Walse test. See Sidney Siegel, *Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1956) pp. 83-87.

Table 4. Classification of Rural Migrant Families in Pittsburgh by Urban Identification Scores and Average Participation Scores

Average Participation Scores	Urban Identification Scores			
	0-2		3-7	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
0-5	15	28	6	12
6-14	23	43	32	63
15-over	16	30	13	24

P. = .01 as indicated by Chi Square

Table 5. Classification of Rural Migrant Families in Pittsburgh by Urban Identification Scores and Length of Residence in the Community.

Length of Residence in the Community	Urban Identification Scores			
	0-2		3-7	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Less than one year	3	6	2	4
1-5 years	11	20	11	22
6-10 years	12	22	8	16
15 years and over	28	52	30	59

P = .125 as indicated by Walse test

Table 6. Independent Variables Which Were Not Significantly Associated with Urban Identification

Independent Variable
Number of persons in the household
Stage in the family life cycle
Major occupation of the male head of the household
Total family income
Socio-economic status

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Religious Affiliation And Voting Behavior

Both Catholics and Protestants have shown an interest in the political order. In the not too distant past the Protestant churches were instrumental in passing the Prohibition Amendment. And, at the present moment, the Catholic Church is attempting to secure public support for parochial schools. In either case such actions are, as far as the majority of the community is concerned, often highly controversial. Since the Catholic Church speaks in an official way with one voice, it is easier to deal with Catholic political action than it is with Protestant political action. It is also of interest to look at Catholicism in these terms because there is some evidence that Protestants have a very strong tendency to think of Catholicism in terms of political power rather than simply as another religious institution.¹

There is a certain amount of evidence supporting the view that there is an official Catholic political philosophy.² It could be asked, what group insofar as it is a group with particular objectives, has not some kind of political philosophy? Politics deals with the agencies of power and how they are to be organized in relationship to that agency which decides the organization, i.e., the state. The state has, in Weber's terms, a monopoly on violence and enforces rules of the game. The rules are created in such a way as to structure power, but the actual creation of the rules may be largely the work of an agency outside the official structure of government. It might be, for instance, the school, and the home, etc.

¹ Roy Pearson, "Catholics in Public Office," *The Christian Century*, December 12, 1956, pp. 1450-1452.

² See John La Farga, S. J., *The Catholic Viewpoint on Race Relations*, (New York, 1956).

A recent article on "Social Power and Commitment: A Theoretical Statement," asserted that "an adequate analysis of social power requires an examination of social actors, objectives, and lines of action."³ The churches could be studied, in terms of power, by the contribution they make to defining the objectives of action. When their members become both actors and determinates of the line of action, then the churches have ultimate power in whatever sphere might be involved, for instance, religious action. Thus one can not divorce religion completely from the political order if it has any influence on the objectives of government, as one author writes:

Freedom from the structures of power raises the question of powerlessness. The dilemma of the churches is clear at this point, for to claim separation from the state is to reduce one's ability to influence decisions of the state; while institutional union raises the likelihood that a church which seems to have a voice in political decisions is actually only an echo of decisions made on political grounds.⁴

This was a real dilemma in the past history of Christianity in Western society, but stating the problem in these terms may just blur and distort the realities of religious power within American life. The power of the churches is not to be understood just simply in terms of their relationship to the state, but in terms of how religion is related to social actors, their objectives, and particular lines of action. The fact, for instance, that the Catholic church has an official, but not always binding, point of view on many social issues would mean that it would have influence on certain social actors, its members, and would help them form objectives and lines of action.

Currin V. Shields⁵ argues the thesis that: "Strictly speaking, there is no orthodox political belief which a Catholic communicant must accept as required of his religious faith." This is true, within limits, but Shields' book makes it sound as if the good Catholic, in the eyes of the church, can be anything he wishes in relationship to the State. This is a startling way to separate politics and religion since the church does have a rather unified set of teachings which it officially directs towards certain social problems. And any social issue is, as long as there is some form of action to resolve the issue, also a political issue. Francis J. Powers, S. J.⁶ illustrates in his book that the hierarchy

3 E. Abramson, H. A. Cutler, R. W. Kautz and M. Mendelson, "Social Power and Commitment," *The American Sociological Review*, XXIII (1958), p. 15.

4 Milton Yinger, *Religion, Society and the Individual*, (New York, 1959), p. 250.

5 *Democracy and Catholicism in America* (New York, 1958), p. 70.

6 *Papal Pronouncements on the Political Order* (New York, 1952); also see Melvin J. Williams, *Catholic Social Thought* (New York, 1950).

of the Roman Church has spoken with authority on all kinds of social issues. There is a laymen's movement within the Catholic Church known as Catholic Action⁷ and its primary purpose is to make real the social teaching of the Church. Gerald Treacy, S. J. has written a little pamphlet called *Catholic Political Philosophy*⁸ which has been circulated through Catholic parishes in this country. This pamphlet is based on the social encyclicals of Leo XIII and illustrates certain teachings of the church, for example, the relationship of the church to the state. This is, in the eyes of many Protestants, a political problem of the first order.

Take, for example, Father Treacy's discussion of Leo's encyclical dealing with the Christian State (p. 15). This is the official basis for the Catholic doctrine of the desirable State: "This State acknowledges God as the source of authority, and the model for the exercise of that authority. It professes its duty to God and religion; it honors and protects the Church." In terms of present-day Catholic-Protestant tensions, I believe the relationship of Church, State, and Freedom is becoming the key issue in Catholic-Protestant conflicts in terms of the specific problems of birth control, parochial schools, and censorship. The problem for the social scientist is to determine how realistic is this basis for conflict. Certainly the Protestant wants to know what it means to establish a Christian State in terms of a State which "protects" the Church. I hasten to point out that distinctions between official teaching and actual practice are extremely important, but the unity of teaching joined with a unity of belief is a powerful force to move social actors. The best studies, and about the only research, at the point of religion in relationship to the political process, are the studies which have been done on voting behavior. The simple gross statistics on Catholics and Protestants in positions of public power are also of interest as broad indicators of relative positions in the power structure. The 85th Congress was reported as follows (1957):

Out of 96 members of the Senate, 93 were listed as follows: Methodist, 18; Baptist, 14; Presbyterian, 13; Episcopal 12; Roman Catholic, 11; Congregational, 8; Lutheran, 4; Latter Day Saints, 3; Disciples of Christ, 2; Jewish, 2; Evangelical and Reformed, 2; Unitarian, 2; Friends, 2.

Out of 435 members of the House of Representatives 391 were listed as follows: Methodist 84, Roman Catholic 75; Baptist 55 . . .⁹

⁷ James O'Toole, *What Is Catholic Action?* (New York, 1940).

⁸ Gerald Treacy, *Catholic Political Philosophy* (New York, 1947).

⁹ *Information Service*, June 29, 1957, p. 3.

Notice, where we shift to the House with smaller units of Representation, that is, Congressional Districts, there are more Catholics in relationship to the other denominations, except for Methodists, than there are in a similar comparison with the Senate.

Donald R. Matthews does not consider the above fact when he makes the following statement: "The religious affiliations of the Senate indicate that the recruitment process strongly favors Protestants and discriminates against Roman Catholics and Jews."¹⁰ He backs this up with the following table.

Religious Affiliations of Senators (81st Congress)
and of Population (1950)

Religion	Senators	Population: total claimed members (1950)
Roman Catholic	12%	34%
Jewish	1%	6%
Protestant	83%	59%

From this table he makes (p. 187) the following statement: "But the effect of religious affiliation on political life chances does not depend only on the prestige of the sect. It depends as well on the degree of concentration of its membership in a particular state."

This is true, but with recognition of this fact, how can he draw an inference that Jews and Catholics are discriminated against? We know that Jews in public office are probably discriminated against, but Matthews' data on the Senate does not prove this is the case. As a matter of fact the Senate and the House are not elected according to representation of certain proportions of the population along specific lines, for example, party or religion; but are elected according to majority sentiment within "geographic" areas. If we narrow the geographic area, we probably increase the ability of religion to focus its power in an election as the statistics on the Senate and House of the 85th Congress probably indicate. With the geographic unit becoming smaller in the House, the representation of Catholicism shifts. This is consistent with what we know of the population concentration of Catholics in specific urban areas. To talk about discrimination we would have to know about the religious composition of each geographic unit which elected a Catholic or a Protestant. If we discovered that Congressional districts with a predominantly Catholic population always elected

¹⁰ "United States Senators and the Class Structure," in Eulau, Eldersveld, and Janowitz, eds., *Political Behavior* (Glencoe, Ill., 1956), p. 186.

Catholics to Congressional seats, and that some Protestant areas also elected Catholics, perhaps we would speak of discrimination against Protestants, or we might just wonder at the power of religion to influence a party on religious grounds. In terms of national politics, the actual voting behavior of legislatures would be important to study. If Catholics consistently voted in a unitary fashion over against their Protestant colleagues, then there would be good evidence to suspect that religious affiliation plays a key role in national politics. Dale Francis of Notre Dame University studied the voting patterns of the 80th Congress in terms of religious affiliations. He used as his standards for reference fifteen bills rated either progressive or anti-progressive by the *New Republic*. His conclusion was: "While heavily progressive as a group, the Catholic senators in their personal record range from almost completely progressive (Wagner of New York) to almost anti-progressive (McCarthy of Wisconsin)." ¹¹

James M. O'Neill reports a Master's thesis written by Joseph Hansknecht at the Catholic University of America in 1951. This is a study of fifty Catholic members of the House of Representatives in the 81st Congress, compared with the voting records of fifty non-Catholic members. He tries to get a comparable group using such criteria as length of service in Congress, occupation, education, military service, marital status, Congressional district control (stable or unstable party control), population constituency, etc. He takes twenty roll call votes dealing with eleven issues: labor legislation, public housing, rent control, social security, minimum wage, military aid to foreign nations, etc. The thesis came to the conclusion that (1) there was no real Catholic vote in the sense that Catholics follow a particular rigid line of any kind, or the direction of any person or group. They do not vote as Catholics, but primarily as Republicans or Democrats as the case may be. (2) The large percentage, 80 percent, voted liberal on most of the eleven issues studied. ¹²

The difficulty with this kind of study is the fact that the political issues which relate closely to religion are few and far between in American culture. It would be more revealing to see how a person votes in relationship to an issue which his church has clearly defined and for which the church has a dogmatic answer, such as the use of public funds to support parochial education. Peter and Alice Rossi have pointed out that parochial school children assimilate themselves well to the community, but when it comes to public issues which the Church has defined, Catholic parochial school graduates strongly support

¹¹ Dale Francis, *The Commonweal*, January 14, 1949, pp. 342-345.

¹² James M. O'Neill, *Catholicism and American Freedom* (New York, 1952), Hansknecht thesis reported p. 133.

the position of the Church. What we need is more information concerning conflicts over issues as they arise in a local community.¹³ There have been some community studies of voting in National elections which give evidence that religious affiliation seems to influence behavior. There is not, however, universal agreement on why and how this influence works.

James Robert Brown has written a very provocative article on Catholics and voting. He makes a very careful analysis of a report on the Catholic vote printed in the August 1956 issue of *U. S. News and World Report*. This report came out of the discussion concerning the possibility of the candidacy of John F. Kennedy for the vice presidency. The assumption behind this report is that there is a clear Catholic vote, i.e., people known as Catholic voting in terms of their religious identification rather than because of other causative factors. Brown questions this assumption. He writes:

Nation-wide Gallup polls in 1950 and 1954 showed that 34 percent and 32 percent of all Catholics considered themselves to be Republicans and that Catholics form part of the independent voter's rank. Gallup also reported that 44 percent of the Catholics who voted in 1952 cast ballots for Mr. Eisenhower.¹⁴

The usual assumption is that most Catholics vote with the Democratic party, which is probably true, but the above statistics indicate a surprising percentage of the Catholic vote is Republican. Brown suggests that:

Statistics could be assembled, no doubt, to show that Southern Baptists are normally Democratic voters. Further, it could be shown that large numbers of these Baptists in 1948 and 1952 deserted the Democratic party. (p.482)

The above point suggests two facts which are important in trying to relate characteristics of a voter, i.e., religion, to his party. 1. Regional differences are important factors in national elections. 2. The issues of a particular campaign or point in history may shift a vast number of voters from one party to another. This is all summed up in the fact

¹³ Peter H. and Alice S. Rossi, "Background and Consequence of Parochial School Education in the United States." Monograph, University of Chicago Conference on Group Life in America, 1957.

¹⁴ "Do Catholics Vote Their Religion" *America*, August 25, 1956, p. 481.

that party loyalty in America is probably, at best, a rather vague sentimental attachment created by family tradition. And party membership does not mean a rather distinct adherence to a particular point of view or party discipline as it does in Europe.

Brown concludes the main portion of his article by writing:

Until further evidence shows otherwise, we may continue to believe that Catholics, like a large number of their fellow Americans, voted for Eisenhower in 1952 for reasons which have no direct relation to their religion. It is generally conceded that corruption in government was the big issue in 1952. . . . the evidence would seem to conclude that many Catholics, like many non-Catholics, voted for such a change. (p. 482)

It is very difficult without extensive empirical data to reach the conclusion that religious affiliation is the direct cause of national voting patterns. When there are clear cut issues which involve religion, the situation may change as it did in the 1928 election. Yet, on the whole, a significant start has been made in this area by several studies which devote themselves to a careful analysis of voting behavior in communities.

Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelsen, and Hazel Gaudet¹⁵ demonstrated in their book how the survey and panel research method could be used to study election behavior. They conducted a rather extensive study of voting behavior in Erie County, Ohio, in the election of 1940. They wanted to determine the significant sociological facts which could be isolated as indices to predict actual voting behavior. They suggested that there were three factors which are closely correlated to voting behavior. Out of this they constructed what they called their Index of Political Predisposition (IPP) which was based on SES level, religion, and residence. The important point for our purposes is to take note of the fact that they considered religion to be closely correlated to certain kinds of voting behavior. To put it crudely, they simply demonstrated that if a man were Catholic he would likely vote for the Democratic party, and if he were a Protestant, he would likely vote Republican. And by correlating the other factors one could get even a higher degree of accuracy in prediction. Sixty percent of the Protestants and only about 23 percent of the Catholics intended to vote Republican in the survey of the panel. It might be thought, since Catholics are lower in economic status, that their vote simply reflected their class positions. They dis-

15 *The People's Choice* (New York, 1944).

covered, however, that religious affiliation played an important role in determining party affiliation on each SES level.

Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee discovered the same thing in a study of voting behavior in Elmira, New York. They found that SES was directly related to voting:

Socioeconomic status--as measured here by an index composed of the breadwinner's occupation, education, and interviewer's rating--is directly related to vote decision. The higher the economic status (SES), the more Republican the vote; put crudely, richer people vote Republican more than poorer people.¹⁶

Yet, more significant for our purposes, it was also discovered that religious affiliation was a better indication of voting behavior since it held firm at all levels of the class structure.

No matter what demographic variable is controlled, the relationship between Catholic affiliation and party preference significantly remains. Not only that, but the religious affiliation (and the ethnic differences it represents) appears to be a stronger influence upon vote than any other single factor. For example, on each socioeconomic status level about half as many Catholics vote Republican as Protestants. Catholics of high status vote more Democratic than do Protestants of low status; thus Catholic affiliation is stronger than socio-economic status in determining vote. (p. 65)

This strongly indicates that there was a Catholic vote in the 1948 election. In the Elmira study, even when conservative-liberal attitudes were controlled, the conservative Catholic (on political issues) was still most likely to vote the Democratic ticket. One very significant fact (p.67) was: "The more intensely religious status is felt or the more pervasive its influence the more powerful its effect upon vote."

It can be argued that religion was a very vital force in determining the election of 1948. The problem is, however, one of attempting to calculate the dynamics of future developments in terms of possible correlations between religious groups and specific political parties. It is possible that regional differences were important in the analysis of the

¹⁶ Bernard Berelson, Paul Lazarsfeld and William McPhee, *Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign* (Chicago, 1954), pp. 55-56.

make-up of the Democratic vote in 1948 since a goodly number of Southern Protestants voted the Democratic ticket. In a National election, however, the facts of regional vote are not isolated one from another, and power comes to that national party which can secure the necessary electoral votes. The indication that there is a Catholic vote in the North is of no little interest to all those groups concerned with power relations in American politics. Thus, any indications of the future shape of things is, to say the least, highly important. The Elmira voting study suggests that there is, in all probability, a movement away from the Democratic party by a significant number of Catholics.

1948 marked a weakening of the Catholic vote in Elmira. In 1940 and again in 1944 about 83 percent of Elmira Catholics claimed to have voted Democratic, and in 1948 this proportion had fallen about 65 percent. The likelihood of a trend away from the Democratic party on the part of Catholics is further suggested by the vote of different age groups. (p. 67)

The children of Catholic Democrats were much more likely to turn Republican than were the children of Protestant Republicans to turn Democrat. This probably reflected, among other factors, the predominantly Republican atmosphere of the city of Elmira. The point is, however, that the dynamics of change are important in discussing the idea of a Catholic vote. Samuel Lubell has been interested in the process of change at this point, and in his *Future of American Politics* (New York 1956) suggests that there had been, in 1952, a Catholic break with the Democratic party.

Curiously, the two elements under heaviest pressure to split off from the Democratic party in 1952 were the Southerners and the Irish and German Catholics. While the Southerners were most sensitive on economic and racial issues, the Catholics were most sensitive to charges of "communism in government" and to a possible revival of isolation. (p. 239)

Lubell seems to believe, in the broadest sense, that there is such a thing as a Catholic vote, but in actuality his main thesis is, it seems to me, that there are more grounds for assuming an ethnic vote than a rigidly Catholic vote.

It may be, for example, that Italian and German Americans tend to cast their votes in terms of the foreign policy of political parties in respect to their country of origin. This, Lubell thinks, helps to explain

the conservative Republican vote of many German Catholics in South Dakota and Minnesota. And it may be that a large number of the Italian and German Americans happen to be both Catholic and Democrat; however, it is an open question whether or not they cast their votes because they are Catholic or rather due to the fact that they are of Italian or German origin. It simply muddies the waters to confuse both ethnic group and religious affiliation, since one does not always relate closely to the other, and when they do relate, it is not always in the same way.

Many observers have pointed out the strong Catholic support given the Democratic party. Yet it is difficult here, as in so many other cases, to explain this support completely and in a doctrinaire fashion due to the simple fact of Catholicism. It may be that because of the place on the class and occupational scale which many Catholics occupy, there is a strong tendency to support the party which takes the greatest interest in the type of legislation which benefits their economic and social status. It may be that more Catholics view voting for the Democratic party to be most consistent with their best economic interests. In any case, no matter what the party vote, the sociologist would be interested in whether or not Catholics and Protestants think of themselves as groups with political interests. Group solidarity might be necessary as a prior cause for solidarity of group action in voting. If this is actually the case, then a perception of a like interest of a religious nature, channeled into political action, would be the point where either Catholic or Protestant groupings might conflict with one another. Thus if political parties ever formulated their programs in terms of one particular religious interest against another, then religious affiliation and voting would become even more significant than it is now. From the point of view of Catholic-Protestant tensions, the future research which might be done into this problem would do well, it seems to me, to think in terms of those specific issues which are, in certain instances, expressing conflict between Catholics and Protestants. The questions are how do these perceptions of fundamentally irreconcilable issues structure themselves into group action by way of party affiliation, voting behavior, and all the broader problems in national politics? The research already done on voting behavior indicates quite strongly that religious affiliation is and can be closely correlated with voting behavior. And, if this is so, the question remains as to what extent the dynamic of this correlation will evolve into new and significant patterns of behavior for American political life? Samuel Lubell gets, in my estimation, to the heart of the problem and at the same time indicates an area for future research. He writes (p.238):

Usually when members of any religious group feel themselves under attack, they tend to close ranks. The protests stirr-

ed currently over such issues as aid to parochial schools, birth control and alleged Catholic censorship of films and textbooks can be expected to solidify the body of American Catholics. Whether this increased solidarity will be transferred to politics, however, is not clear.

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Faulkner and Wright, Alias S.S. Van Dine

Sooner or later, students of William Faulkner ask: "What happened to Faulkner between his Bohemian writing period and the writing of *Sartoris*?" In interviewing Faulkner, Jean Stein added: "—that is, what caused you to begin the Yoknapatawpha Saga?"

FAULKNER: With *Soldier's Pay* [sic] I found out writing was fun. But I found out afterward that not only each book had to have a design, but the whole output or sum of an artist's work had to have a design. With *Soldier's Pay* I wrote for the sake of writing because it was fun. Beginning with *Sartoris* I discovered that my own little postage stamp of native soil was worth writing about and that I would never live long enough to exhaust it, and that by sublimating the actual to the apocryphal I would have complete liberty to use whatever talent I might have to its absolute top. It opened up a gold mine of other people, so I created a cosmos of my own. I can move these people around like God, not only in space but in time too.¹

By Faulkner's "I found out afterward," could this possibly mean after absorbing *The Creative Will*² by Willard Huntington Wright? In the library of the University of Mississippi, I found a newspaper clipping, neither dated nor named, in a file folder on Faulkner, that reported Faulkner as saying that "he considers *The Creative Will* of Willard Huntington Wright as one of the most important influences in his literary career."

¹ *Writers at Work* (New York, 1958), pp. 140-141.

² Page references to *The Creative Will* are to the John Lane Edition (New York, 1916).

To read *The Creative Will* invites conjectures. To read Wright's detective fiction, written under the pseudonym of S. S. Van Dine, multiplies them. Could Wright's criticism of literary quarters in *The Creative Will* possibly have influenced Faulkner to break with the New Orleans Bohemian world and to become the Oxford recluse? Of literary quarters, Wright wrote:

Great artists are never the products of the community spirit. In all cities there exist "quarters" in which the shallow iconoclasts, the failures, and the imitators congregate for the purpose of exchanging their ineffectual ideas and of consoling one another for their poverty of mind. Such places are the breeding grounds of incompetency and of "schools" of art. The great creative artist could not exist in such a *milieu*. His nature is necessarily solitary: his gregariousness is only on the surface. He has an instinctive antipathy to the puny souls who need companionship and support. (p. 205)

Around p. 275 in *Sartoris*, a subtle shift in Faulkner's language begins to be felt. Could Wright's delineation of the new dimensions which prescient writers are adding to their art by experimenting with new word combinations, documentary rhythms, cadences, and onomatopoeia that fit the action possibly have influenced Faulkner's new heightened use of language? After countless pointers, Wright says:

Literature, whose mechanical medium is words, can strike a purer note when the writer makes a proper choice of certain cadences and onomatopoeic words, as, for example, when quick and febrile action is expressed by harsh Anglo-Saxon derivatives or when a sentimental scene is recorded with long, flowing, and soft words of Latin origin. (p. 169)

Or could Wright's dictum that musicians seldom go to natural sounds (the actual) for compositions, but to ideas (the apocryphal), which symbolize mental or physical actions and which imply "a *deroulement* into time," possibly have influenced Faulkner's thematic use of ideas that imply a *deroulement* into time?

Or could Wright's analysis of Balzac's method of creating possibly have influenced Faulkner in discovering when he was half way through *Sartoris* "that writing was a mighty fine thing. . . I felt that I had all these people and as soon as I discovered it I wanted to bring them all back"?³ Of Balzac's method, Wright wrote:

3 *Sartoris* (New York, 1953), Robert Cantwell, "Introduction," p. viii.

Balzac creates first a terrain with an environmental climate; and the creatures which spring from this soil, and which are a part of it, create certain inescapable conditions, social, economic, and intellectual. Furthermore the generations of characters that follow are, in turn, the inevitable offsprings of this later soil, fashioned by all that preceded them. (pp. 44-45)

Although Faulkner felt he had all his people with *Sartoris*, their vestigial remains are buried in *Soldiers' Pay*, even if its soil is called Charleston and the creatures which spring from it are named Mahon, Saunders, Emmy, Loosh, or Cal'line. Here is Faulkner's description of Charleston, also a county seat, in *Soldiers' Pay*:

In the middle of the square was the courthouse—a simple utilitarian edifice of brick and sixteen beautiful Ionic columns stained with generations of casual tobacco. Elms surrounded the courthouse and beneath these trees, on scarred and carved wood benches and chairs the city fathers, progenitors of solid laws and solid citizens who believed in Tom Watson and feared only God and drouth, in black string ties or the faded brushed gray and bronze meaningless medals of the Confederate States of America, no longer having to make pretense toward labor, slept or whittled away the long drowsy days while their juniors of all ages, not yet old enough to frankly slumber in public, played checkers or chewed tobacco and talked . . . They [Reverend Mahon and Mr. Saunders] passed beneath a stone shaft bearing a Confederate soldier shading his marble eyes forever in eternal rigid vigilance . . .

Trees arching greenly over the street made a green tunnel of quiet.

Solemnly the clock on the courthouse, staring its four bland faces across the town, like a kind and sleepless god, dropped eleven measured golden bells of sound.⁴

In *Sartoris*, Faulkner's description of Jefferson, also a county seat, sharpens, but not sharp enough to obliterate Charleston.

Town among its trees, its shady streets like green tunnels, along which tight lives accomplished their peaceful tragedies . . . The clock on the courthouse lifted its four faces above the trees, in glimpses seen between arching vistas.

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⁴ *Soldiers' Pay* (New York, no reprint date), p. 112-113, 235.

The courthouse was of brick too, with stone arches rising amid elms, and among the trees the monument of the Confederate soldier stood, his musket at order arms, shading his carven eyes with his stone hand. Beneath the porticoes of the courthouse and on the benches about the green, the city fathers sat and talked and drowsed, in uniform too, here and there. But it was the gray of Old Jack and Beauregard and Joe Johnston, and they sat in a grave sedateness of minor political sinecures, smoking and spitting, about checkerboards. (pp. 117,153)

The central offspring of the Charleston soil is war ace Donald Mahon, physiologically and psychologically destroyed by war. In Jefferson soil, he splits into twin war aces: John and Bayard Sartoris. The former is physiologically destroyed by war and the latter psychologically. Mahon's fiancée, Cecily Saunders, resembles Temple Drake. Both girls are slender, long-legged, promiscuous, and both lie (Cecily in her own bed and Temple on a cornshuck mattress) listening to men fight for their bodies. Cecily with a "mouth elastic and mobile as red rubber" matures as a Temple who meets her match in a Popeye with eyes "like rubber knobs."

Emmy, seduced by Mahon, resembles Lena Grove seduced by Lucas Burch in *Light in August*. Both are simple, good, patient girls of the lower class who suffer the name of whore and lose their homes because of it; yet they still love their seducers.

Loosh, Mahon's colored playmate when a child, also a war veteran, resembles Gaspey, the colored war veteran in *Sartoris*, in addition to Bayard's playmate, Ringo, in *The Unvanquished*, and Luster in *The Sound and the Fury*. Loosh's mother, Cal'line, and Mahon's mammy in infancy, resembles Dilsey in *The Sound and the Fury* and Faulkner's real life Mammy Caroline at whose death Faulkner preached the sermon.

Reverend Mahon, father of Donald, appears to be the prototype of Faulkner's verbal drunkards: Fairchild in *Mosquitoes*; Horace Benbow in *Sartoris* and *Sanctuary*; Mr. Compson in *The Sound and the Fury* and *Absalom, Absalom!*; Reverend Hightower in *Light in August*; the Reporter in *Pylon*; and Gavin Stevens in *Intruder in the Dust* and *The Town*. All use the verbal crutch to bridge inadequacies, failures, frustrations, aberrations, transgressions, or moral sterility.

Although Wright failed to create a terrain of his own, running through successive books, he did as S. S. Van Dine preponderantly plot his deeds of horror within established families. In *The Benson Murder Case*, a brother murders a brother; in *The Greene Murder Case*, a sister (adopted) murders her sister, two brothers, and her mother; in

The Bishop Murder Case, an uncle murders to prevent his niece from marrying; in *The Kennel Murder Case*, doom discharges a brother who planned to murder his brother; and in *The Dragon Murder Case*, a brother murders an unworthy suitor of his sister.

Faulkner also plots dark deeds within established families. The Compsons could be the Greenses in *The Greene Murder Case*.⁵

The original Greene stock was sturdy, but the present generation seems to have gone somewhat to pot. Old Tobias the Third — Chester's father—was a rugged and, in many ways, admirable character. He appears, however, to have been the last heir of the ancient Greene qualities. What's left of the family has suffered some sort of disintegration. They're not exactly soft, but tainted with patches of incipient decay, like fruit that's lain on the ground too long. Too much money and leisure, I imagine, and too little restraint. On the other hand, there's a certain intellectuality lurking in the new Greenses. (p.20)

Both Mrs. Greene and Mrs. Compson are invalids; both complain about the inconsideration of their children; both feel they are burdens to their children; both reiterate they are not long for this world. In the Greene family, the sib affinity between Chester and Sibella wanly reflects the affinity between Caddy and Quentin Compson; another shadowy reflection is that of Rex Greene, an aggravated macrocephalia, and Benjy, an arrested macrocephalia.

Decidedly not a nice family [the Greenses]. A family run to seed, its old vigor vitiated . . . Funny how these old families degenerate under the environment of ease and idleness. . . society would be better off if such families as the Greenses were exterminated. (pp. 87-88)

In *The Dragon Murder Case*,⁶ the latter thought is repeated: "This would be a cleaner, better world if mankind had been omitted from the scheme of things" (p. 71). This thought is frequently iterated by Faulkner.

⁵ Page references to *The Greene Murder Case* are to the Grosset & Dunlap Edition (New York, 1928).

⁶ Page references to *The Dragon Murder Case* are to the Charles Scribner's Sons Edition (New York, 1933).

Better for her [Temple Drake] if she were dead tonight, Horace thought, walking on. For me, too. He thought of her, Popeye, the woman, the child, Goodwin, all put into a single chamber, bare, lethal, immediate and profound: a single blotting instant between the indignation and the surprise [Chester Greene knew "that second of bewilderment and unbelief"]. And I too; thinking how that were the only solution. Removed, cauterised out of the old and tragic flank of the world.⁷

In the short story, "Wash," incorporated in *Absalom, Absalom!*, the blast is reiterated:

'Brave! Better if narra one of them had ever rid back in "65" thinking *Better if his kind [Sutpens] and mine too [Joneses] had never drawn the breath of life on this earth. Better that all who remain of us be blasted from the face of it than that another Wash Jones should see his whole life shredded from him and shrivel away like a dried shuck thrown onto the fire . . .*'⁸

And in the short story, "Golden Land," Faulkner limits the blasts to female flesh: "Would to God that all young girls, all young female flesh, were removed, blasted even, from the earth."⁹

Van Dine may not have created a terrain comparable to Yoknapatawpha, but his creatures often were the inevitable offsprings of the terrains he did create. In *The Greene Murder Case*, the pollution of the Greenes has its roots in the pollution of the Greene Mansion, crumbling in decay:

—not material decay, perhaps, but a putrefaction far more terrible. The very heart and essence of that old house is rotting away. And all the inmates are rotting with it, disintegrating in spirit and mind and character. They've been polluted by the very atmosphere they've created. (p.91)

The Stamms in *The Dragon Murder Case* also reflect Van Dine's penchant to interlock his characters with the environment. The Stamm Estate is a strange place "with its distorted traditions, its old superstitions, its stagnant air of a dead and buried age, its insanity and decadence,

⁷ *Sanctuary* (New York, 1931), p. 265.

⁸ *The Faulkner Reader* (New York, 1954), p. 613. (New York, 1936), pp. 290-291

⁹ *Collected Stories* (New York, 1950), p. 718.

and its folklore and demonology Such an atmosphere generates and begets black and incredible crimes" (p. 198).

As an experiment, the above excerpt in its entirety was given to an English class with the instructions to name the twentieth century literary work it might describe. Several students named *Absalom, Absalom!* At the same time, Van Dine's map of Inwood and the stamm Estate, published inside the front and back covers of *The Dragon Murder Case*, was shown to students with instructions to name the literary map that came immediately to mind. The response was immediate and unanimous: Yoknapatawpha County in *Absalom, Absalom!*

Certainly no one acquainted with the multiple interlocking forces that forge the creative artist would be naive enough to suggest that Wright, alias Van Dine, may be the answer to what happened to Faulkner between his Bohemian writing period and the writing of *Sartoris*. But unless Mr. Faulkner repudiates ever having told a reporter that "he considers *The Creative Will* of Willard Huntington Wright as one of the most important literary influences in his career," there seems reason to believe that Wright's influence might be a partial answer.

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Morals In Victorian Alabama

In the Black Belt of Alabama, as elsewhere, during the Victorian period, the standards of moral conduct were high, and, indeed prudish. Actual conduct, however, frequently departed from those standards.

The Black Belt is a section of ten counties northwest of Montgomery. In ante-bellum days it was a cotton plantation section. The large Negro population and predominantly rural economy of the section served to perpetuate the aristocratic, conservative, and pleasure-loving attitudes of earlier days.

As late as 1904, the chief of police of Selma attempted to prevent the women in a show troop from riding their horses astride. He contended that a lady should not ride astride unless she wore a split skirt. The actresses in question, according to the chief (*Selma Morning Times*, Feb. 12, 1904) "were riding straddle on men's saddles and their limbs were showing for a good distance above where skirts ought to have concealed them, and he does not regret his action in attempting to prevent this unnecessary exposure of the lower anatomy of these women." Selma was criticized severely in social columns of the *Montgomery Advertiser* for the chief's action, and this criticism caused "a great deal of indignation" in Selma. Chief Walters, who was "an exceedingly modest, timid man," was "almost ashamed to come on the streets, the matter having brought his name too prominently forward in connection with the straddle equestrians of the Runaway girls."

In contrast to this fastidious attitude Alabama Street in Selma between Washington and Broad was in the seventies a center for bar-rooms, gambling houses, cock fighting, and lotteries.¹ Keno was the prin-

¹ Although the Constitution of 1875 (1) gave the legislature no power to authorize lotteries (2) directed that it pass laws prohibiting sale of lottery tickets and (3) voided all acts before passed which authorized lotteries. Constitution of 1875, Article IV, par. 26 in *Code of Alabama, February 16, 1897*, II, p. 123. See also Sect. 4808 ff.

cial game of chance. Kellings were frequent. In violation of the law open houses of prostitution were conducted within a stone's throw of several Montgomery churches.² These places were wide open down to 1917, when army regulations closed them. In many cases they were quiet, elegant establishments with pretty women who wore fine clothes. These houses of prostitution were on Dorsey Street, and there was the Waldorf on Bell Street. "Yellow gals" cost twenty-five cents to a dollar, white girls usually around three dollars. A two-story house accommodated eight to ten women, a one-story house proportionately fewer. A special box was reserved at the Montgomery Theatre for the ladies of the underworld.³

The church deplored the existence of open houses of prostitution and set about to fight them. Regrettable was the fact that the buildings in which some of them were conducted were the property of "good men" of Montgomery, who pleaded that they must rent to whoever applied. The *Alabama Baptist* (June 23, 1892) was "informed that women — some say they stand well in society — veil themselves heavily and march to these places of death and damnation in the broad light of day."

While vice was widely practiced, the moral attitude of nice people, especially women and church people, was very fastidious or narrow even concerning small matters of behavior. The churches crusaded against immorality of all sorts, including dancing and Sabbath violation, as well as the more flagrant vices of gambling, whoring, and divorce. The open gambling houses around Montgomery were denounced, as was the Louisiana lottery. The ministers of Montgomery (*Alabama Christian Advocate*, April 24, 1890) took their stand against beer gardens, saloons, cock pits, and such forms of amusement as the fair, called the Southern Exposition, in 1890.

The churches emphasized observance of the Sabbath, and several towns, including Greensboro, Livingston, and Eutaw, had rather strict ordinances requiring it. Curfews for children and ordinances against the loitering of tramps, who were quite rare, were also found on the statute books of the towns.

² *Alabama Baptist*, June 23, 1892.

³ Interviews with Chief of Police R. B. King and Police Commissioner W. P. Screws, Montgomery.

Book Reviews

Confederate Strategy from Shiloh to Vicksburg, by Archer Jones. 258 pp.
\$5.00 Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1961.

Archer Jones attempts to set forth the origins and development of Joseph E. Johnston's Department of the West with the attendant Confederate strategic planning for the area. He endeavors to tell the story as a part of overall Confederate strategy, placing considerable emphasis upon the key personalities involved: President Davis, secretaries of war Randolph and Seddon, and generals Johnston, Bragg and Pemberton.

The unity of Western command, which in dire emergency had devolved upon Albert Sidney Johnston in early 1862, had deteriorated by October of that year to the point where Bragg, Holmes, Van Dorn and Pemberton were snared in departmental confusion. Recovering from his wounds received at Seven Pines, General Joseph E. Johnston was appointed by Davis November 24, 1862, to bring central direction of the war effort to the area embracing Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, East Louisiana and bits of adjacent North Carolina, Georgia and Florida.

Johnston's control was purely operational: he was to co-ordinate the movements of troops within the area, but departmental commanders continued to report directly to Richmond in most matters. Long an advocate of concentration of forces coupled with elastic defense, Johnston was always in basic disagreement with Davis and especially with his subordinate, Pemberton, on basic strategy. His two main concerns were holding middle Tennessee with Bragg's army and defending the Mississippi from Port Hudson to Vicksburg. Widely separated and poorly served by transportation facilities, these two fronts were fundamental in western strategic planning. President Davis never answered Johnston's query: "Which is the most valuable, Tennessee or the Mississippi?" Apparently Davis favored the Mississippi while Johnston felt that middle Tennessee was of the greatest importance to the Confederacy.

Johnston favored concentration around Vicksburg by adding the Trans-Mississippi force to Pemberton's army, but Davis was never willing

to force General Holmes to move east at the possible cost of losing areas to the enemy in Arkansas. Davis left wide discretion to Holmes; indeed he could not bring himself to Johnston's ideas of winning victories in the field through concentration, then later retaking the areas lost.

Johnston did manage to build up a concentration of cavalry under Van Dorn which he attached to Bragg's left wing in Tennessee. Also this force could be used against enemy communications (Grant's included) or to reinforce Pemberton in Mississippi. Further inter-departmental mobility was achieved by establishing a small reserve of infantry at Jackson, Meridian and Mobile which could be shifted by rail to either Pemberton or Bragg.

Johnston had his troubles with both subordinates and superiors. He praised and trusted Bragg whom Secretary of War Seddon wanted removed. He disliked Pemberton's evasiveness and resistance to authority, but Pemberton enjoyed Davis' complete confidence. Johnston and Seddon seemed to be friendly until Johnston refused to remove Bragg and discipline Pemberton—both courses apparently promoted by Seddon. The author reveals that Johnston and Davis enjoyed harmonious relations and that their differences on basic strategy were a matter of degree. Mutual respect and cordiality prevailed until Johnston later became the scapegoat for the Vicksburg disaster.

While Davis and Seddon fretted over Bragg and his army, Pemberton with his unchangeable policies was building toward a catastrophe. Johnston's planned trip to Mississippi in March might have resulted in imposing his ideas upon Pemberton, but duties with Bragg's army intervened. While Pemberton kept Richmond somewhat informed of Grant's progress in April and early May, he imparted little to Johnston, whom he treated as merely the commander of the Army of Tennessee, not as his superior. Johnston had told Pemberton: "If Grant crosses, unite all your troops and beat him. Success will give you back what was abandoned to win it." Finally on May 9, 1863, Johnston was ordered by Davis to take "chief command of the forces" in Mississippi. By then it was too late. In effect, Johnston's role as commander in the West had ended.

The frantic efforts to save Vicksburg forced the Confederate high command to consider the possibility of sending reinforcements from Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. General Lee's view prevailed: the best way to help Vicksburg was to launch an offensive into Maryland and Pennsylvania. Thus the road to Gettysburg lay ahead; Vicksburg, in spite of Johnston's last-minute efforts, was doomed.

Professor Jones has performed a difficult task by bringing some order to the confused and entangling situations connected with Con-

federate strategy in the West. At the same time he presents ample evidence to explain the motives and actions of the turbulent cast of characters. His description of the Davis-Johnston relationship down to the fall of Vicksburg corrects the record by showing that their famous feud developed later. The author writes with clarity and sustains reader interest in a subject of limited interest. Since strategy is "making war on a map," the three maps included are hardly detailed enough to illustrate the strategic planning and developments.

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Southern Life in Fiction. By Jay B. Hubbell. 99 pp. \$2.50. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1959.

This little volume contains the three Eugenia Dorothy Blount Lamar Memorial Lectures delivered at Mercer University in 1959 by Jay B. Hubbell, the dean among scholars who have devoted much of their time to the history and explication of Southern literature. With the Lamar legacy which made the series possible came the request that it be used "to provide lectures of the very highest type of scholarship which will aid in the permanent preservation of the values of Southern culture, history, and literature." Professor Hubbell, founding editor of the periodical *American Literature* and author of the monumental *The South in American Literature*, indicates once again in these lectures how well he knows what these values are.

His general theme, as he states in his Preface, is one which has long interested him: "the function of literature as a reflection of the life of the American people, a subject which of course involves some study of the various interrelations of literature and history." Though they were individually addressed to slightly differing audiences, the lectures taken together are remarkably homogeneous.

Professor Hubbell approaches Southern literature here as he has elsewhere, in the frame of reference of World literature and general American literature. In Lecture One, "An Imperfect Mirror, Or Fiction and Fact," he makes some wise observations as to what the novel as genre can and cannot do. Since the novel is mirror or reflector of life, the novelist must select and arrange so that the reader must see the significant things the writer has seen. The many factors which becloud the mirror are first surveyed as they appear in the work of British and

non-Southern American writers. Then Mr. Hubbell turns to his native region and comments briefly on the contrast between the composite pictures of that region presented by the nineteenth and twentieth century novelists. Illusions, aversions, and blind spots have limited the effectiveness (or truthfulness) of both pictures, he makes clear. His preference seems to be for the nineteenth century writer, who for him at least did not distort the image of the South so grossly or so cynically as the later novelist has done. Mr. Hubbell warns, however, that a really comprehensive picture of the South can be formed in the mind of the reader only after he has ranged widely in the work of both centuries.

The lecturer shares Van Wyck Brooks' distaste for novels and novelists depicting only the ugly aspects of American life. Material like Faulkner's and Caldwell's, it is suggested, is misrepresentative; but worst of all, it may set the rest of the world against us because it is believed to be representative. Fine recent novelists whose mirrors are relatively unclouded, the reader gathers, are Ellen Glasgow, Thomas Wolfe, DuBose Heyward, and Eudora Welty.

From these rather general observations Mr. Hubbell turns again in Lecture Two to a scholarly subject he first investigated nearly forty years ago, "Virginia Life in Fiction." His emphasis here is considerably different from what it was then. Here he devotes himself primarily to a discussion of the concept of the Virginia and Southern gentleman as it developed in Virginia life, history, and fiction. Citing some of the comments from the seventeenth century to the present made by Europeans, Northerners, and Southerners themselves as to the nature of the Virginia gentleman, he concludes that this concept in literature is one of the region's finest heritages. Significantly, he does not see the concept as "the *myth* of the Southern gentleman" in either sense of the term.

In Lecture Three, "Georgia in Literature," the emphasis is on the Southern yeoman or backwoods qualities in fiction, presented more or less in contrast to the aristocratic and sophisticated qualities considered in the preceding lecture. Most memorable Georgia writing has come from middle Georgia, not tidewater, the writer points out, and is concerned with the middle and lower classes. Dialect, realistic dialogue, and rural philosophy are among the elements touched upon.

These essay-lectures move, almost amble, along easily and charmingly. Whenever he feels like doing so, the author turns aside from his announced subject of Southern Life in Fiction to mention the work of a Southern poet like Lanier or of a historian like William E. Dodd or Ulrich B. Phillips, or to discuss a book or character or author from anywhere who may illustrate his point or is illustrated by his point. Remarkably objective in most matters, Mr. Hubbell has strong convictions as to the proper function and proper proportion of "decadent" materials

in Southern literature. He denies no man the right to depict the Southern world, or any world, as he sees it. But underlying all his comments is a basic assumption that since Southern fiction is and of its nature must be more than mere art, its creators today should consider fairly and carefully the region of which and the world in which they write. This by-no-means-new assumption or position has been often attacked more or less successfully in our time, but the open-minded reader will find in these lectures an able and persuasive set of arguments for its validity.

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Mississippi Quarterly

LIBERAL ARTS DIVISION

MISSISSIPPI STATE UNIVERSITY
STATE COLLEGE, MISS.

Accepted As
Controlled Circulation
Publication At
STATE COLLEGE, MISS.